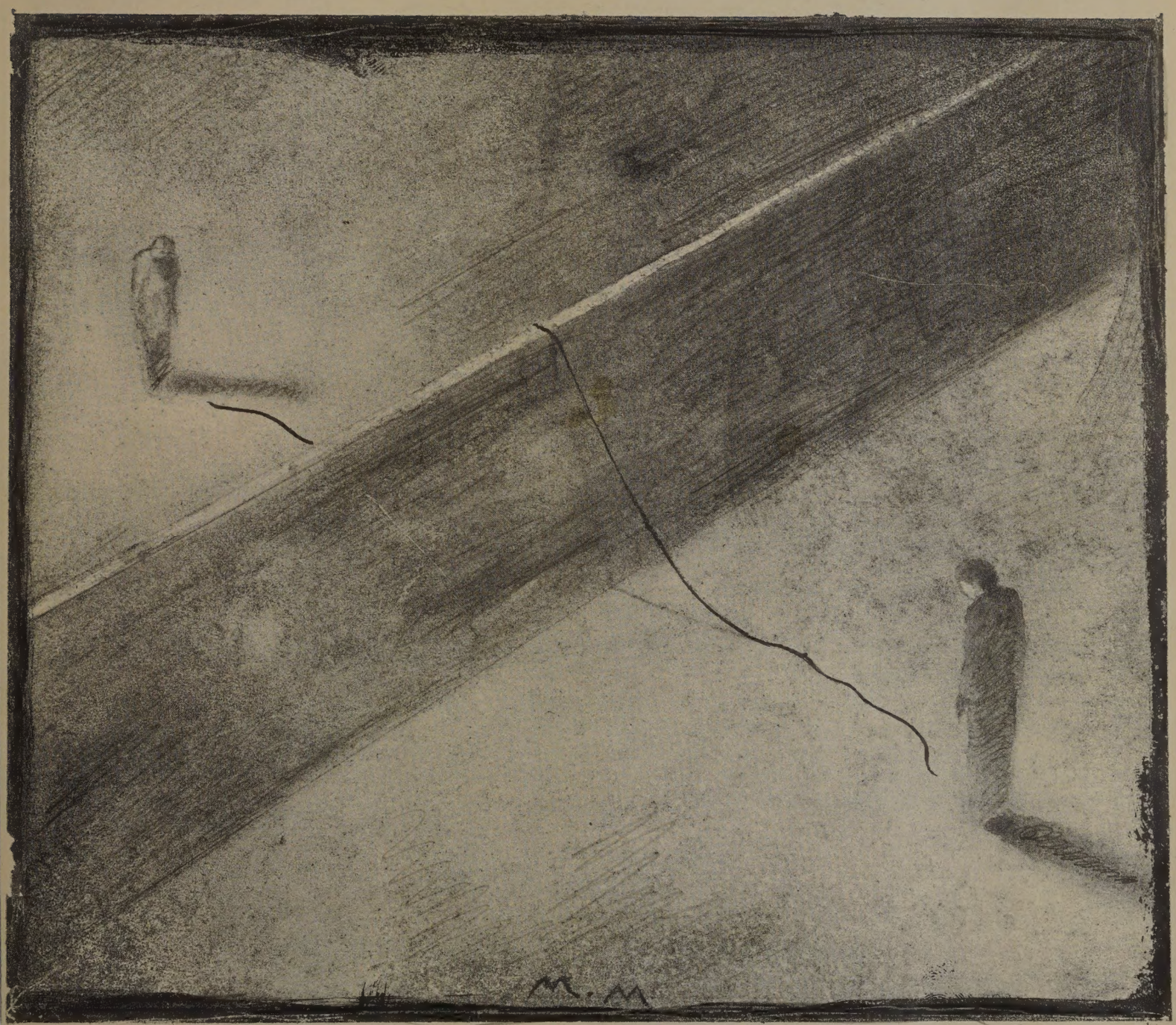
NOV-DEC 1986 $4

Nuclear Times

CITIZEN DIPLOMACY
THE NEXT STEPS



SPECIAL U.S. — SOVIET ISSUE

BROOKINGS

Military Objectives in Soviet Foreign Policy
Michael MccGwire

The Soviets have shifted from a fatalistic belief in the inevitability of nuclear war to the belief that an all-out superpower nuclear confrontation is avoidable. In this well-reasoned study of Soviet military objectives, MccGwire describes the events leading up to the 1967–68 watershed in Soviet military doctrine and examines the consequences for various theaters of military action, for the Soviet military role in the third world, and for Soviet nuclear strategy and arms control policy.
January 1987/c. 650 pp./paper $18.95/cloth $39.95

Managing Nuclear Operations
Ashton B. Carter, John D. Steinbruner, and Charles A. Zraket, Editors

This comprehensive and detailed volume examines U.S. nuclear operations and command and control. The contributors, experienced in operations and C^3I, discuss peacetime safety and control of nuclear weapons worldwide, the survival under nuclear attack of the reasonable command authorities presupposed by deterrence theory, and the means for terminating nuclear war before it escalates to all-out exchanges.
February 1987/c. 700 pp./paper $18.95/cloth $39.95

Strategy and Force Planning: The Case of the Persian Gulf
Joshua M. Epstein

In this book, Epstein argues that primary reliance on the threat of vertical or horizontal escalation would lack the credibility needed to deter large-scale Soviet aggression in the Persian Gulf. Epstein challenges the prevailing view that direct conventional defense is beyond America's reach. Through careful modeling, he shows how a U.S. rapid deployment force considerably smaller than that planned by the Reagan administration could defend successfully and deter credibly by exploiting key Soviet vulnerabilities in Iran.
January 1987/c. 210 pp./paper $10.95/cloth $28.95

Military Technology and Defense Manpower
Martin Binkin

A principal challenge to America's volunteer military over the next decade is the possibility that military technology will outstrip the capabilities of the people the armed forces can expect to attract. This study examines the development of a mismatch between weapons and skills and discusses options for hedging against that prospect.
1986/143 pp./paper $8.95/cloth $22.95

Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan
Raymond L. Garthoff

". . . a sophisticated multidimensional analysis, unmatched in breadth, depth, and thoroughness by any other treatment of the subject now in print." John Lewis Gaddis, *American Political Science Review.* ". . . the scope and detail of the information covered, and the high quality of the analysis make it very unlikely that this book will have a serious rival for years to come." Jonathan Dean, *Foreign Service Journal.*
1985/1147 pp./paper $16.95/cloth $39.95

The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 797-6258

Letters

The Party's Over?

NUCLEAR TIMES' report, "Arms Control Takes the Hill" (Sept.-Oct. '86), is certainly encouraging. At the same time, readers should be aware of the Democratic Policy Commission's recent report, "New Choices in a Changing America." It may do much to set the tone of next year's congressional debate as well as the 1988 presidential elections. Clothed in the rhetoric of pragmatism (the chapter on military issues is called "Making It Work"), the Democratic Party report says: "We support weapons systems such as the Midgetman missile, the Trident submarine and its D-5 missile, and the Stealth bomber—all 'second strike' systems that lead to more stable relationships between the nuclear superpowers." And: "Midgetman remains a priority of our party and indeed, we believe, our country."

I hope activists will write to Democratic National Committee Chair Paul G. Kirk, Jr. to protest this Orwellian abuse of language, truth, and logic. His address is: 430 South Capitol Street SE, Washington, DC 20003.

—David Keppel
Essex, Ct.

Goose Step

Since the ABC miniseries *Amerika* (Sept.-Oct. '86) is being shot mainly in Canada, could it be denied entry into the United States as "propaganda"? A precedent is the barring of the Canadian film on acid rain as propaganda a couple of years back. Why couldn't various peace groups bring a citizen's action case to bar the entry of the film? It seems to me that what's fair for the goose is fair for the gander.

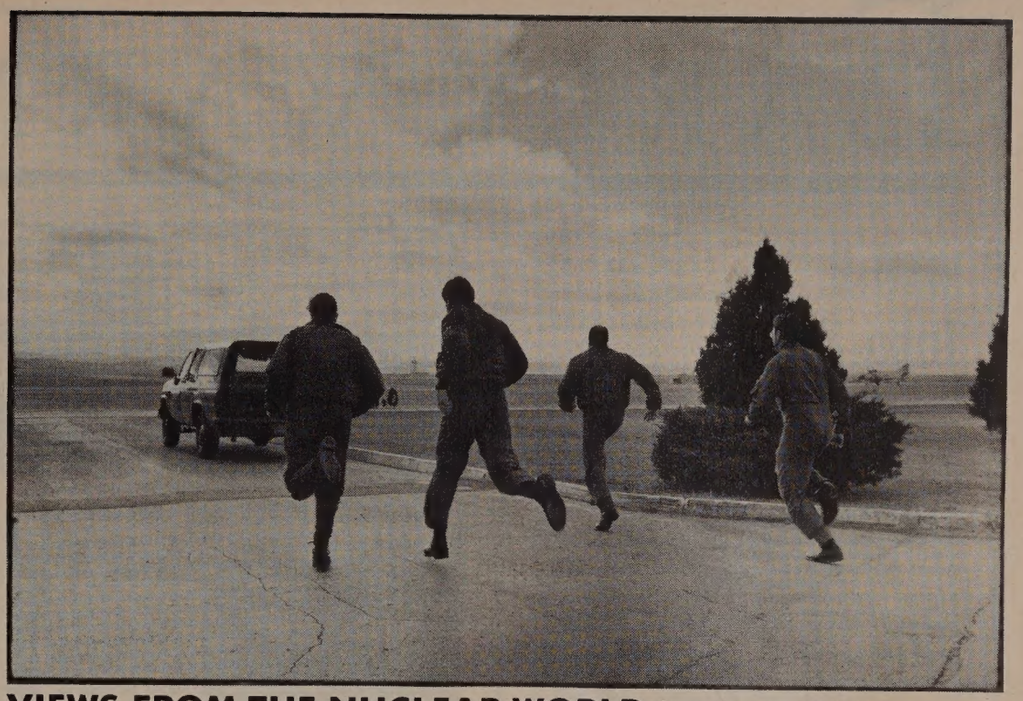
—Marjorie Newell
State College, Pa.

Good News

Thanks for including "Deadline" in your magazine. It's the best thing that's happened to the news media since Edward R. Murrow. It makes me appreciate NUCLEAR TIMES, already an excellent publication in its own right, even more.

—Wayne Lottinville
Eugene, Or.

NOTE: *Last issue we failed to indicate that David Kaplan, co-author of the article on accidental nuclear war, is news editor at the Center for Investigative Reporting in San Francisco.*



VIEWS FROM THE NUCLEAR WORLD *by Robert Del Tredici*
"Scramble," Ellsworth Air Force Base, South Dakota: In this exercise, strategic bombing crew members, responding to an alarm, leave their 24-hour "alert station," run out to a vehicle, drive the vehicle onto the nearby runway, board a strategic bomber carrying nuclear weapons (at right in photo), "kick-start" it with special explosive charges, and become airborne—all within 60 seconds.

CONTENTS

SPECIAL U.S.-SOVIET ISSUE

EARLY WARNINGS 4
NUCLEAR CULTURE
Soviet Rock 'n Roll *by Kathy McNulty* 8
NATIONAL
After Iceland: Once and Future Agreements *by Richard Blow* . . . 9
Congressional Cave-In on Arms Control *by Martin Hamburger* . . 11
COVER
The Future of Citizen Diplomacy *by Susan Subak* 12
The Logan Act and Other Limitations *by Michael Shuman* . . . 14
Michael Murphy: New Wave Diplomat. An Interview 16
Space Bridges: Satellite Innovation or Sideshow? *by Tony Kaye* . . 20
Peace Fleece: Shear Beauty *by Teresa Tritch* 23
RESEARCH & ANALYSIS
U.S.-Soviet Mars Probe: Lost in Space? *by Susan Subak* 24
Superpower Exchanges: A Scientific Approach *by Susan Subak* . . 26
Research Aids 28
The Other Side *by Thomas Powers* 29
GRASS ROOTS
Back in the U.S.A. *by Renata Rizzo-Harvi* 30
Ideas That Work *by Renata Rizzo-Harvi* 33
Resources *by Ann Marie Cunningham* 34
INTERACTIONS
Reports from 10 Organizations 36
DEADLINE
New York University's Media Newsletter . . . . . insert
CALENDAR 43

EARLY WARNINGS

Will 2 Into 1 Go?

In December, if all goes according to schedule, delegates to the national Freeze Campaign conference will vote on two separate merger proposals, rather than just one. The Freeze/SANE merger will reach the conference floor in Chicago after more than eight months of planning by the Freeze/SANE Commission, where it will be joined by a somewhat unexpected alternative proposal to combine the Freeze with its independent electoral cousin, Freeze Voter.

For now, however, the main issue remains the Freeze/SANE merger. In October, the Commission circulated two draft papers on the structure, programs and "credo" of a group. It also sent "listeners" to speak with dozens of local Freeze and SANE groups to gather grass-roots input for the final unity proposal. The reaction of local activists to the draft merger papers has been mixed. While local SANE members were largely in favor of the proposals, some Freeze activists expressed reservations. Their primary concern was that the grass roots retain ultimate decision-making authority. Another concern centered around "sharing mailing lists," says Chris Brown, executive director of the Southern California Freeze. "It wasn't clear in the proposals to what extent SANE's resources would be made available." According to Nick Carter, co-chair of both the Commission and the Freeze itself, these local concerns will be incorporated into the final proposal.

Adding to this debate is the question of whether the Freeze should merge with Freeze Voter. In September, the national committee of the Freeze asked an ad hoc liaison committee made up of Freeze and Freeze Voter staffers to develop a plan for bringing together the two groups, which will be circulated to Freeze delegates before the conference. The new Freeze would integrate the educational, lobbying and organizing programs of the current group with the electoral work of Freeze Voter, says William (Chip) Reynolds, Freeze Voter's national director. "It may be more sensible for the Freeze to get its own act together," says Reynolds, "before merging with another group." □

Dear Mikhail, We might be willing to negotiate on Star Wars.
YOU MIGHT BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE ON STAR WARS?
!!! ZOOM
NO!
THE POLITICS OF STAR WARS WERE GETTING ALMOST AS IMPOSSIBLE AS THE TECHNOLOGY.
AND TO COMPLICATE THINGS FURTHER, AN EAGER DEFENSE CONTRACTOR WAS ABOUT TO ARRIVE ON THE SCENE.
CRANK CRANK
COULDN'T WE BUILD PART OF IT NOW? JUST THE PART THAT PROTECTS OUR MISSILES?
CRANK
NO!
STAR WARS ISN'T TO PROTECT MISSILES, THERE WON'T BE ANY MISSILES.
PREPARE FOR ENTRY INTO HYPERSPACE.
WE'LL DEPLOY IT WHEN ALL THE MISSILES ARE GONE. THEN IT WILL PROTECT OUR POPULATION FROM ANY TERRORIST CATAPULTED INTO ORBIT WITH A WARHEAD IN HIS SUITCASE.
THIS WAS WHERE YOU DIDN'T ARGUE. THIS WAS WHERE YOU TIPTOED QUIETLY AWAY.
I KNOW YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND. NOBODY UNDERSTANDS. EXCEPT ME. I'LL DEPLOY IT WHEN I'M GOOD AND READY. IT WILL BE DECADES AFTER I'M OUT OF ....
TOLES
TO BE CONTINUED

CARTOON BY TOM TOLES. © 1986 BUFFALO NEWS REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION OF UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

Less, Then Zero

With the leaders of the two superpowers boldly talking about drastic cuts in their nuclear arsenals, the ever-tentative antinuclear/arms control community is once again on the defensive. "The movement needs something to pull it together in a conceptual sense," says Chris Wing, co-coordinator of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) disarmament program. "Something that looks further than six months down the road." That something may be a call for disarmament-by-the-year-2000.

The concept has been in the air for several months. The Disarmament Network, an informal coalition of 15 to 20 grass-roots-oriented groups, has been discussing a Disarmament 2000 Campaign since last spring, and hopes to produce a final draft of a proposal, and possibly a "call" to the peace movement, at a meeting in mid-November. None of the Network groups—which include SANE, the Freeze Campaign, Mobilization for Survival, Pax Christi and Clergy and Laity Concerned—has officially endorsed the idea so far but "a lot of groups are interested in structuring their work this way," says AFSC's Wing, who has been working on the latest draft of the Disarmament 2000 document.

Meanwhile, a Citizens Declaration on World Nuclear Disarmament, drawn up by Howard Hallman, president of the Civic Action Institute in Washington, D.C., has been endorsed by many prominent religious and peace movement figures. Like Soviet leader Gorbachev's January 1986 proposal, it aims to achieve abolition by the year 2000 in several fixed stages. □

Amerikana

With the February broadcast date steadily approaching, opposition to ABC's *Amerika* is slowly coming together around an informal national coalition coordinated by the American

Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The working group will link the activities of participating organizations, which include the Committee for National Security (CNS), Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) and Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR). In addition to circulating its own organizer's packet, AFSC will act as a clearinghouse of information on the controversial program, which depicts life in the United States after 10 years of Soviet occupation.

One of the most active groups is FAIR, which recently wrote a letter to ABC requesting that the network provide programming to balance the viewpoint of *Amerika*. In mid-October, Jeff Cohen, FAIR's executive director, attended the press screening of a 90-minute, condensed version of *Amerika* at ABC's offices in New York City. According to Cohen, the final cut of *Amerika* does *not* pull punches in its right-wing orientation.

CNS and ESR are releasing educational materials relevant to the show, and Equal Time, a grass-roots group based in Madison, Wisconsin, has collected 3000 signatures on a petition criticizing the show's portrayal of Soviets and asking ABC for offsetting programming. A coalition of local groups has been formed in Boston headed by the local Mobilization for Survival chapter to campaign against the city's ABC affiliate station. And *Mother Jones*, says Cohen, is focusing on *Amerika* in a January special issue that will include an investigative report into the show's origins and a spoof of the "Russians-are-coming" mentality. □

New Test Pattern

Two upcoming events will be the largest and most daring the American Peace Test (APT), which organizes civil disobedience in support of a test ban, has planned. On November 17, APT is organizing blockades at the test site and outside the Washington office of the Department of Energy (DOE). Previous APT actions in Nevada broke the law more passively. And on January 27, a two-day Nevada action, probably including a blockade, will commemorate the 36th anniversary of the first test at the site.

These efforts build on the momentum of what might be called the group's first subcontract. At the request of the American Public Health Association (APHA), which held its national convention this year in Las Vegas, APT organized what amounted to a field trip, busing 550 doctors and health care workers to the test site for a demonstration and optional civil disobedience action on September 30. In all 139 people, including Carl Sagan, and Physicians for Social Responsibility leaders Jack Geiger and Victor Sidel, were arrested, and most hope to return to Nevada for a group trial. This may or may not launch a trend of celebrity arrests. But APT coordinator Jessie Cocks sees it as a model for "more constituency-type actions," arranged for groups that aren't peace-related and "including notable people from within that constituency." □

Cold Remedy

Citizens of the United States and Soviet Union often believe that they are as distant geographically as they are politically. But near the Arctic Circle the superpowers are just two miles apart, separated only by water and 40 years of silence. The islands of Little Diomede (USA) and Big Diomede (USSR) share a special link besides their proximity in the Bering

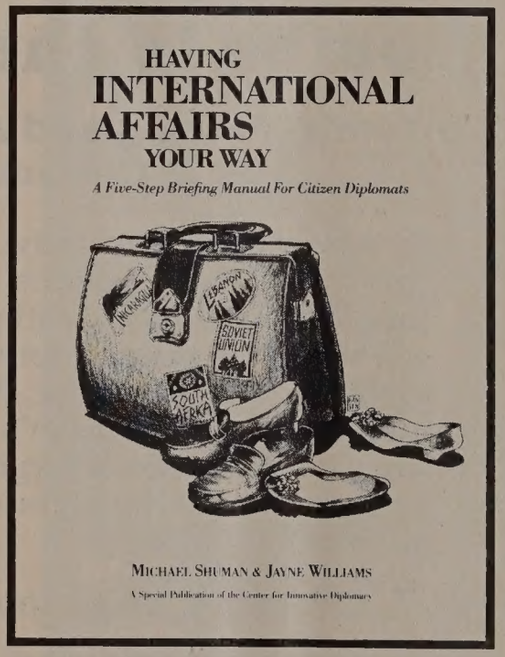
One Way *You* Can Prevent Nuclear War

"...what will undoubtedly become known as the definitive introductory guidebook on citizen diplomacy....crisply, even entertainingly written..."
Mark Satin
New Options

"An excellent and witty guide to being a citizen diplomat."
Oxfam America

"...a great piece of work — practical, stimulating, detailed..."
Rebecca Latimer
Sonoma, CA

"...provides a map for sane action....excellent and unique..."
Jan McMurphey
Portland, OR



YES! Send me "Having International Affairs Your Way" ($5 per copy).

SPECIAL OFFER! If you become a member of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID) for $35 ($15 low income), we'll send you the briefing manual for free. Membership entitles you to "The CID Report" and our new "Municipal Foreign Policy News Service."

Send Orders To:

The Center For Innovative Diplomacy
17931 Sky Park Circle, Suite F
Irvine, CA 92714
(714) 250-1296

Nuclear Times

Editor Greg Mitchell
Managing Editor Renata Rizzo-Harvi
Associate Editor Susan Subak
Resources Editor
Ann Marie Cunningham
Contributing Editors David Corn, Corinna Gardner, Suzanne Gordon, Howard Kohn, Maria Margaronis
Art Director Andrij Borys

Business Manager Christine R. Riddiough
Advertising Director Robin Wien
Interns Kathy McNulty, Miranda Spencer, Kimberly Thompson

Executive Director Richard Healey

Board of Directors Jack Berkowitz, Hodding Carter, Robert Friedman, Wade Greene, Colin Greer, Adam Hochschild, Jonathan Z. Larsen, Thomas B. Morgan, Thomas Powers, Anne Mollegen Smith, Susan Margolis Winter, Anne B. Zill

Volume V, Number 2

Cover Illustration Matt Mahurin

NUCLEAR TIMES (ISSN 0734-5836) is published six times a year by Nuclear Times, Inc. Single copy, $4; yearly subscriptions, $21; Mexico and Canada, add $5 year postage; all other foreign, add $17 airmail. Bulk rates apply, please inquire. Copyright © 1986 by Nuclear Times, Inc. *All editorial correspondence* should be sent to Room 512, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001. (212) 563-5940. *All business correspondence* should be sent to Room 500, 1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. (202) 332-9222.

EARLY WARNINGS

Sea: the resident Yup'ik Indians. These Eskimos have many geographical, cultural, familial and linguistic ties. That Alaska was actually *part* of Russia for nearly a century is reflected in everything from Alaskan place names to the entrenchment of the Russian Orthodox Church. Soon, because of the efforts of peace activists in the Alaskan art and scientific communities, the Yup'ik (and others) will share entertainment and knowledge as well.

In October, Alaska Performing Artists for Peace (APAP) began a reciprocal cultural exchange to unite the Siberian and Alaskan Eskimos through their common musical heritage. Sixty-six APAP members are touring Siberia—as well as Moscow and Leningrad—accompanied by former Alaska governor Jay Hammond and his wife, Bella (who is half Yup'ik) and documentary filmmakers. In the summer of 1987, a similar Russian contingent will visit Alaska.

On the scientific front, meanwhile, University of Alaska (Anchorage) Professor Theodore Mala (he is half Russian, half Eskimo) has made it his mission to open communication between Siberians and Alaskans by arranging a circumpolar health information exchange between scientists in the two countries. After five years of discussion, the first formal agreement for Soviet-American circumpolar information exchange seems imminent. □

Watch Band

We now know that the first MX missiles have been deployed at Warren Air Force Base in Wyoming, and we even know how it transpired, thanks to Nukewatch. For the past couple of years Nukewatchers have been monitoring the transportation of nuclear warheads from weapons plants to missile fields. When Nukewatchers in Cheyenne recently noted the arrival of three trucks at Warren AFB, accompanied by Department of Energy escort vehicles, they put out a call to their friends at Wyoming Against MX and the Fort Collins

Bombs in the Backyard

Atomic Testing and American Politics
by A. Costandina Titus

In this provocative study, the author examines the history and politics of our country's atmospheric atomic testing and the ongoing questions of government liability for alleged victims of that practice. Well-documented yet aimed at the layperson's level of understanding, *Bombs in the Backyard* makes a valuable contribution to the literature on this important subject.

226 pages, illustrations, cloth, $19.95

Available at your local bookstore, or order from the

University of Nevada Press
Reno, NV 89557
(702) 784-6573

Please include $1.50 postage & handling per book when ordering directly from the Press.

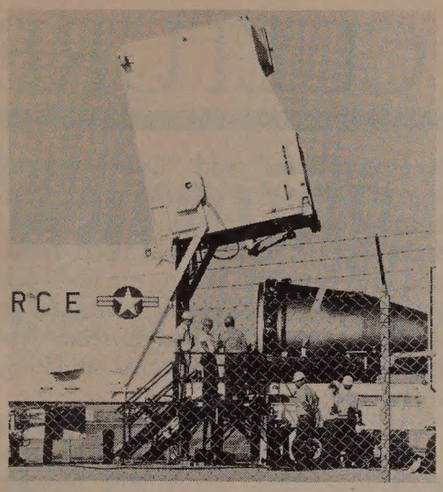
NEW FROM ADIU Armament & Disarmament Information Unit

NATO CHEMICAL WEAPONS POLICY AND POSTURE
by Julian Perry Robinson
The fullest account yet published of the history and recent development of chemical weapons policy in NATO, by a leading specialist in the field. The paper documents the history of NATO CW doctrine, weapons and training, US Congressional actions on binary chemical weapons, and the adoption of a NATO Force Goal for binaries in May 1986. Detailed appendices set out the positions of NATO member governments and parliaments on the chemical weapons force goal.
ADIU Occasional Paper No. 4
ISBN 0-903622-27-0 c.80 pp Published 1 Sept 1986
ISSN 0268-3717 £5 (individuals) £7 (institutions)

ALSO AVAILABLE **ADIU REPORT**
The bi-monthly journal of the Armament & Disarmament Information Unit. Unique coverage of arms control developments, British parliamentary proceedings and European defence and disarmament affairs, plus a comprehensive listing of recent publications in the field.
ISSN 0264-0643 1986 subscription rates: £9 (UK) £12 (overseas)

A full list of ADIU publications is available on request.

Orders for publications should be sent, with remittance payable to:
UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX,
to The Secretary, ADIU, SPRU, Mantell Building, University of Sussex, Brighton, East Sussex BN1 9RF, UK.



KAREN BYARS

MX nose cone at Q-2 silo

Peace Center to join them just outside the base. Nathaniel Batchelder, a veteran Nukewatcher from the Benedictine Peace House in Oklahoma City, picks up the story:

"Ten Minutemen silos," he tells us, "designated for the MX had been announced by the Air Force and carefully mapped by local activists. Huge equipment rolled to and from the silos in the slow-motion choreography of missile deployment. Nukewatchers learned that warheads are delivered to silos in high security trucks that squat over the silos for loading or unloading. Helicopters and armored vehicles escort the warhead trucks. The missiles themselves are installed by tilt-up rigs that park over the silos, sometimes for days. Modification of Minuteman silos for the MX includes installation of a steel cylinder used for 'cold launch'—the MX is popped from the silo like a torpedo and its rockets fire when it is airborne.

"Stages of deployment were apparent at several silos. Nukewatch set up a peace camp at Silo Q-2 and invited the public. Ranchers came by to share their frustrations over missile deployment on their land. Local newspapers ran photos supplied by the vigilers. A local television station sent a crew to film the deployment equipment.

"The insanity of the arms race and systems like the MX," Batchelder observes, "becomes clear when men and women who live and ranch in five states protest missiles being crammed into holes in their land. Deployment of the MX is the embodiment of the 'Arms Not Farms' policy." □

The End Of March

"The question now," says Alan Affeldt, chief consultant for the Great Peace March (GPM) in Washington, D.C., "is how to end the march to advance legislation and revitalize the movement." Several peace organizations, including SANE (which waited until September to endorse the march), the Freeze Campaign and the Center for Defense Information are joining GPM organizers in seeking an answer. Together they have done the logistical planning for the November 15th arrival of 800 marchers at Malcolm X Park in Washington, and for subsequent speeches, music and rallies at the White House and the Lincoln Memorial.

The character of the activities will reflect two strains of thought discernible among the marchers. "A lot of people want to get here and go home and reflect on what they've done and impact on the rest of their lives," explains Affeldt. "On the other hand, many marchers want to become even more actively involved in the issue." To this end, GPM, along with SANE and the Freeze, among other groups, is supporting the American Peace Test in its passive resistance action at the Department of Energy in Washington on November 17. "The passive resistance," Affeldt says, "provides a good segue from the culmination of the march to more direct action." □

BLIPS

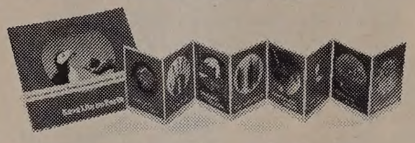
Look for a more coordinated effort against **nuclear weapons facilities** following the recent meeting in Berkeley, California of representatives from 40 weapons-site groups. Next big action: January 17 at Cape Canaveral to protest the first flight of the Trident II (or D-5) missile . . . Congressional opposition to the **Trident II** has grown at least a little. The annual amendment against the missile got 95 votes compared with 80 last year, actually picking up the votes of 28 who voted for it last year (including three New England Republicans). But Representative **Pat Schroeder** again backed Trident II . . . Jefferson County, Kentucky, which includes the city of Louisville, became the largest county in the country to declare itself a **nuclear free zone** . . . Peter Hagelstein, inventor of the **X-ray laser** so critical to Star Wars, has left Lawrence Livermore lab, apparently unhappy about doing weapons work, and joined the physics staff at Massachusetts Institute of Technology . . .

SAVE LIFE ON EARTH

Artists from 21 nations paint and write for peace.

SAVE LIFE ON EARTH — 112-page paperback in five languages. 59 color plates from acclaimed exhibition now touring Europe and Asia. Text by John Hersey, Christa Wolf, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, Robert Rozhdestvenski, Luisa Valenzuela, Ai Qing. Introduction by Dr. Bernard Lown, IPPNW, 1985 Nobel Peace Prize.

ACCORDION-FOLD CARD — 8 full-color panels. ARTISTS: Milton Glaser, Klaus Waschk, Caje Huss, Konstantin Ivanov, Jean Yves Hamel, Zhu Junshan, Eduardo Arranz-Bravo, Nagaishi Shigenobu.



BOOK ☐ $14.95 $_____
CARDS (w/envelope)
☐ $ 2.25 (with book only) $_____
☐ 21.00 (pack of 10) $_____
☐ 90.00 (box of 50) $_____
Total ..... $_____

Includes shipping and handling.
Purchases are tax-deductible.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State & Zip _____

SAVE LIFE ON EARTH, Inc.
PO Box 2396 Cambridge, MA 02238 (617) 491-4948

ACCESS

is . . . a non-profit information service on international security and peace.

COMPREHENSIVE . . . ACCESS tracks the best sources for substantive information on a range of issues. We also have information on organizations, speakers, curricula and films.

FAST . . . Call (9-5, M-F) or write ACCESS. We will respond as soon as possible, with facts, reference or referral.

IMPARTIAL . . . Our information sources represent a range of viewpoints and perspectives.

FREE . . . ACCESS's inquiry service is free. Regular users may wish to become ACCESS Associates and receive our publications as well.

1755 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Suite 501
Washington, DC 20036

(202) 328-2323

When arms control isn't enough

CITIZEN SUMMITRY

EDITED BY
DON CARLSON · CRAIG COMSTOCK

"It's time for our government and the Soviet regime to stop acting like kids spoiling for a fight. It's time to use modern telecommunications to learn what each country can contribute to global culture, and then to cooperate in imagining and building a positive future. Citizen Summitry *is an outstanding example of the tools that will show us how."* TED TURNER, president, Turner Broadcasting

"Cutting through the fog of complacency surrounding the ultimate danger of nuclear weapons, the authors have properly looked to the real solution." WILLIAM E. COLBY, former U.S. Director of Central Intelligence

"Incisively illustrates how Americans, individually and as participants in private groups, can contribute to an enlightened foreign policy." GARY HART, U.S. Senate

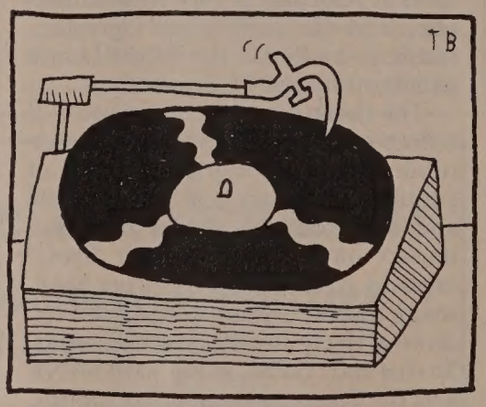
"At a time when the U.S. government has little or no interest in making peace with the Soviet Union, citizens who do *have to take matters into their own hands. This book is a goldmine of information about those who have done so."* ADAM HOCHSCHILD

From Ark Communications Institute
Published by Jeremy P. Tarcher
Distributed by St. Martin's Press
$11.95 paperback, illustrated
At your bookstore or,
if unavailable, call toll free
1-800-453-5900
(Utah 1-800-662-2500)
Watch, too, for *Securing Our Planet*
from the same editors

NUCLEAR CULTURE

When music and Russia are placed side by side one usually thinks of Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture* complete with battle cannons firing. But in the nuclear age Tchaikovsky and cannons do not exactly speak to the youth of America. Because kids today are being brought up with a new set of 3R's—Reagan, Rambo and *Red Dawn*—it may take rock and roll to revolutionize the way they learn about the Russians.

Joanna Stingray, a 26-year-old singer/song-writer from Los Angeles, hoped this would be the case when she recorded and smuggled—although she hates using that term—an "unofficial" rock and roll album, *Red Wave: 4 Underground Bands From the U.S.S.R.*, into the United States and got it distributed to record stores throughout the country. Soviet music has also recently made it on MTV and the PBS "Comrades" series, and the band Stas Namin toured the United States in September and October as part of the *Peace Child* troupe.



TOM BLOOM

According to Stingray, music is the easiest and fastest way to show teenagers that they have bonds with the Soviet people. The *Red Wave* album, she says, "will open up doors to help them realize this bond exists." Stingray has been getting letters of support from kids in Kansas as well as students working on thesis projects related to Soviet studies.

The label "unofficial" rock band is given to groups who are not allowed to record on Melodia, the one recording company in the Soviet Union. Lyrics of the unofficial bands are considered too strong for government endorsement due to their philosophical content, not because they attack the Soviet system. "They are writing about awakening, being happy with oneself—having energy and dreaming," Stingray explains.

Inside the *Red Wave* double album package there are lyric sheets with English translations. Song titles include "Metamorphoses" and "Dance on the Edge of The Spring." Lyrics range from Talking Heads-type phrases to bits of French poetry which have been translated into Russian. The music itself has combinations of jazz and *ska* mixed in with rock and roll. The Russian language over the top is almost shocking to the ears at first.

Stingray has been collaborating with members of the four *Red Wave* groups, Aquarium, Alisa, Kino and Strange Games, during her eight visits to Russia and she is not the only musician who would reportedly like to write and perform with them. When David Bowie first heard a tape of Aquarium's leader, Boris Grebenschikov, two years ago, he became an instant fan, according to Stingray.

Grebenschikov was one of the first musicians in the Russian rock and roll scene (which is now 15 years old) to write and sing in his native language. Before that time, bands simply imitated the Beatles and Rolling Stones. Today there are over 1000 bands writing and singing rock and roll in Russia, according to Stingray.

By 1981 the unofficial rock bands were becoming so much more popular than the official ones that the government was forced to give them a place to perform. That year the Rock Club (able to hold an audience of 1000) opened in Leningrad, which is known as the Liverpool of the East.

Aquarium, Alisa, Kino and Strange Games look, and have musical styles, similar to western bands like U2 and The Police. Two of the bands were featured in the movie *Rock Around the Kremlin* which premiered at the 1986 Margaret Mead Film Festival in New York City this past September.

The unofficial bands will become more visible this fall as their music videos are distributed throughout the country. This autumn Stingray is returning to the Soviet Union to continue her musical collaborations, and she hopes to set up an exchange concert in America. (For information on ordering *Red Wave*, write to Big Time Records, 6777 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood, CA 90028.)

Some *Red Wave* albums have been smuggled back into the Soviet Union—perhaps from Great Britain, Holland or even the United States—and are reportedly being sold on the black market for 200 rubles, or $240. Stingray has sent Reagan and Gorbachev their own personal copies.

—Kathy McNulty

Warming Trend Or Big Chill?

After Iceland: opportunities and stubborn realities

BY RICHARD BLOW

Announced just days before it was to take place, the meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Reykjavik caught everyone off guard—antinuclear and arms control groups included. What almost happened in Iceland came as an even greater surprise.

"For a few hours that Sunday at Reykjavik it really seemed that agreements that we didn't dare dream about were about to be made," says Dottye Burt, membership director of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

The Freeze Campaign wasn't the only group stunned by the sweeping nuclear arms cutbacks proposed at Reykjavik. "My reaction, and I can't believe I'm saying this," declares Karen Mulhauser, chair of Women for a Meaningful Summit (WMS), "is that if it weren't for Star Wars, President Reagan could have gone down in history as the president who reversed the arms race."

Disappointment that the agreement fell through, and surprise that negotiations went as far as they did, were about the only unanimous reactions, post-summit, from peace groups. The immediate aftermath of Reykjavik was dominated by ambiguity: There was no arms control agreement, but the one which almost went through would have achieved arms reductions greater than hardly anyone—even those in antinuclear circles—had ever seriously proposed. The result was inevitable confusion over exactly what goals, both short- and long-term, the peace movement should now set for itself.

"The nature of the debate seems to have changed," says Jonathan Halperin, program director of the Committee for National Security (CNS). "Reagan has opened the door to limits, cutbacks and restrictions the Administration never seemed interested in." Now, the question is, should peace groups raise their expectations, and their demands, for a post-Reykjavik agreement?

STAR WARS ASCENDS

According to Halperin, CNS is responding to the near-breakthrough at Iceland by drafting "an alternative compromise" intended to eliminate the SDI stumbling block. "The pressure for arms control is on the Administration," Halperin says, "so we have to push this option as fast as we can."

AP/WIDE WORLD

After Reykjavik, activists wonder what "line" to follow

For most groups the immediate reaction to Reykjavik meant turning up the heat on the public debate over Star Wars. "President Reagan has laid out the agenda for us," comments Dottye Burt. "Star Wars has been a secondary focus for the Freeze for awhile now. We're going to have to reframe our political focus."

The next few months, believes Nancy Donaldson, political director of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND), "will bring a heightened interest in Star Wars, and a heightened skepticism." WAND is encouraging a grass-roots letter-to-the-editor campaign to contribute to that skepticism.

This shift of attention to Star Wars may well make goals like adherence to SALT II or a nuclear test ban slide somewhat into the background. Comments Martha Little, media coordinator of Physicians for Social Responsibility: "The battle against nuclear testing is one we'll continue to fight, but I think now more heads will be turned towards space than towards Nevada."

Polls conducted in the week after Reykjavik, however, showed that a significant majority of Americans thought that the President had done the right thing in Iceland by "not giving away Star Wars." The surprising pro-Reagan reaction raises a difficult question for arms control groups: Has their antinuclear message been co-opted by Ronald Reagan in the eyes of the general public?

"People are seduced by the idea of Star Wars," says Mulhauser. "But because Reagan has opened up possibilities that hadn't previously existed we can now push harder for an agreement—and we can do it in a way that allows us to say we are supporting the President."

No matter what, if any, concrete agreement between the superpowers is eventually reached, this much is certain: After Iceland, discussing the subject of drastic reductions is no longer taboo. Disarmament can no longer be dismissed as simply idealistic or inherently "destabilizing." This provides a golden opportunity for the peace movement to stake out a bold plan of its own.

In the days following the summit, however, meetings of group leaders to

discuss how the movement should react produced few results. Virtually no one suggested that the abolition of nuclear weapons was now plausible—or even a very good idea. Many remained uncertain about whether to take a "hardline" (criticizing Reagan strongly for upsetting an agreement) or a "softline" (praising the President for going as far as he did and hoping for further progress) approach.

"There needs to be a series of political discussions about where [the movement] should go now," says Richard Pollock, a public relations specialist in Washington, D.C. who heads Peace Media, an advisory group for antinuclear groups. "The easy consensus, for the short-term, is deadset against SDI. And maybe there can't be any unanimous agreement about what to do now. But it will be hard to formulate an imaginative position without vigorous discussion."

BEYOND ICELAND

Besides considering their position, vis-a-vis the Reagan/Gorbachev near-agreement in Iceland, arms control groups are reviewing the effects of their own activities at Reykjavik, which were quite rushed, and planning their own summits for the months ahead.

For most groups their presence at Reykjavik was more spiritual than physical, but some did manage to send members to Iceland. Representatives from the Freeze Campaign, SANE and WMS formed a delegation to meet with Gorbachev and Reagan during the weekend. They were unsuccessful but did confer with top Soviet officials. Greenpeace sent its boat the *Sirius* to Reykjavik harbor but the ship became embroiled in a dramatic confrontation with the Icelandic coast guard, and never made it to port.

Most groups settled for doing what they could back home. Their most visible action was the purchase of a full-page ad in *USA Today* urging a moratorium on nuclear testing, continued adherence to the ABM and SALT II Treaties and a continuation of a joint moratorium on ASAT weapons.

But now some groups are planning gatherings of their own. WMS will attend a women's conference in Athens this month and is accelerating plans for an "international women's summit" to be held in the United States next year. SANE and the Freeze Campaign are moving forward with plans for a "citizens' summit" in Washington, D.C. in late-winter or early spring of 1987. By then the legacy of what happened, or almost happened, at Reykjavik will be clearer, and peace groups will know better whether the Iceland mini-summit was the beginning of a new era in arms control or the frustrating continuation of business-as-usual. □

Arms Experts: Post "Game" Analysis

In the days following the Iceland summit the arms control community, like the peace movement, was uncertain about what exactly had transpired there, and its possible impact. Expressions of optimism were guarded and some arms controllers were openly skeptical about the absolute sincerity of the superpower leaders. In making sweeping proposals on eliminating ballistic missiles, for example, Reagan and Gorbachev were merely playing "let's pretend," asserted Gerard Smith, who helped negotiate the SALT I Treaty.

But even discussing such radical changes may have a lasting effect, some arms control experts believe. After Reykjavik "it will be impossible to 'go home' again," predicts George Rathjens, political scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, referring to a return to traditional arms control precepts. "Expectations will be different now." Rathjens says. "We'd been in a sterile negotiating position for so long but in Iceland we discarded past positions and antiquated points of view that are no longer viable." Sheer numbers of nuclear weapons "can't matter all that much" anymore, Rathjens explains, and particular types of missiles—and details such as throw-weight—"seem to pale when you're talking about radical reductions over the next 10 years." Rathjens warns that "the establishment will try to defend the old positions" but he feels they "will not get very far. It will be hard to talk about 20 to 30 percent reductions in European delivery systems when they [Reagan and Gorbachev] have already talked about *zero*."

Like Rathjens, Albert Carnesale, academic dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, was disappointed but not surprised at how the Iceland summit ended. "It's like when you buy a lottery ticket—you never expect to win," Carnesale says. "But if someone said you were a finalist for the $1 million prize you'd get your hopes up briefly—and *then* if they said you'd won $100 you'd be disappointed!"

If the two sides really want to reach an agreement it shouldn't be that difficult to resolve the SDI issue, Carnesale believes. "The Americans," he says, "just need to find a reason to say we didn't give anything up." But Carnesale feels that a strong accord is unlikely, because once "the bureaucrats and the specialists" in the arms control establishment get at any tentative agreements they will unravel.

If Reagan and Gorbachev "move fast, and at the summit level, then I'm optimistic," Carnesale says. "If they back off and 'let the system work' then I don't think we'll see significant arms control in this Administration."

Even if there is a new superpower agreement, Carnesale does not imagine a nuclear world much different than what we have now. "We're moving in the right direction," he feels, "and I really think that Gorbachev, at least, is really looking to make a deal. But we're no closer to ending the threat of war or to the abolition of nuclear weapons. If we cut arsenals by 50 percent we'd still be much closer to the world we had yesterday than to Jonathan Schell's *Abolition*."

Others in the arms control community are trying to reconcile the superpower leaders' varying interpretations of the ABM Treaty which led to the impasse at Reykjavik. The analysts' debates center on the finer points of how long the treaty should endure, and at what point along the research and development continuum development should be prohibited. Most arms controllers believe that Reagan's interpretation of the Treaty—he would permit testing of new ABM systems—is not valid. But at the same time they are looking into Reagan's charges that Gorbachev, too, has sought to change the Soviet interpretation of the Treaty by restricting some laboratory research activities that are permitted under the original guidelines.

One of the negotiators of the ABM Treaty, John Rhinelander, is proposing that both sides adopt the Treaty "exactly as it was agreed to in 1972 with no changes either way. No changes on the Soviet side to tighten it. No changes on the U.S. side to loosen it." Both sides could then deliberate over how precisely to define components for new types of missile defense systems that weren't specified in the original Treaty. □

House Of Cards Collapses

Congress caves in (again)

BY MARTIN HAMBURGER

Congress played poker with arms control in the waning days of the 1986 session. House arms controllers, holding a straight flush of five key arms control provisions passed in August, had significantly upped the ante on the Senate, which had voted weak, hortatory measures. Yet, when the White House and Senate played their trump card, the announcement of a summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the House folded its hand. Only later did House members seem to realize that the Senate may have been bluffing.

House and Senate negotiators quickly dealt away strong arms control victories on nuclear testing, nerve gas production, SALT II, and Star Wars funding. During their conference on the Fiscal Year 1987 Defense Authorization bill, the negotiators continued the ban on tests of antisatellite weapons against space targets—in the end, the only arms control provision to be enacted this year.

"It was less than most of us had hoped for," Jeff Duncan, an aide to Representative Edward Markey, one of the conferees, dryly observes. But, he asserts, "it was the best deal we could get, given the situation."

Earlier, House arms controllers had succeeded in attaching strong arms control provisions to the Defense Authorization bill. The House barred all but the smallest nuclear tests for one year, tests of antisatellite weapons, production of weapons which would violate the SALT II Treaty, and new nerve gas weapons. Funding for the Star Wars program was frozen at the previous year's level. A joint House/Senate conference committee met to negotiate a compromise on the bill, with arms controllers in a strong position due to the large margins of victory in the House on four of their five key issues.

Until the announcement of the Reykjavik summit, Senate negotiators had sought to delay the negotiations, with the hope of getting a better deal in the waning hours of the Congressional session. If the defense budget were included in the stopgap funding bill which was expected to be the last order of business before the election recess, Senate negotiators believed that the House would be forced to compromise in order to go home and campaign.

Sen. Nunn helped scuttle House calls

Yet, overnight, the political stakes changed considerably. House Democrats, feeling the pre-election pressure to avoid "tying the President's hands" before he met with Gorbachev, succumbed to most of the Senate demands in the conference committee. The compromise was brokered in large part by House Majority Leader Jim Wright, House Majority Whip Thomas Foley, and Senators John Warner and Sam Nunn. The deal included the following provisions:

- Continuation of the ban on ASAT tests.
- Renewed production of nerve gas artillery shells, plus preliminary funding for the new "Bigeye" nerve gas bomb.
- House acceptance of a Senate provision *urging* the President to avoid exceeding the limits in the SALT II Treaty. A stronger House provision *cutting off* funds for such systems was dropped.
- A level of $3.5 billion for Star Wars research. The House had voted $3.1 billion, the Senate $3.9.
- A series of vague promises designed to defuse some of the political pressure on the Administration on the nuclear testing issue. The President pledged in a letter to Senator Nunn that he would submit the unratified Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty for ratification by the Senate some time in 1987 but Reagan reserved the right to attach a reservation to the treaties regarding verification. Reagan also noted that, if progress on the testing issue was achieved at the Reykjavik meeting, he would propose bilateral talks on a comprehensive test ban.

Heading into the Reykjavik meeting, arms control lobbyists expressed considerable disappointment, and resignation. "The House clearly caved in, probably necessarily so," says John Isaacs, legislative director of Council for A Livable World. Many observers note that once the offer of a summit came, there was little hope for congressional action on arms control. "As soon as the summit was announced," observes Markey aide Jeff Duncan, "the atmosphere of the conference committee changed dramatically." When Reagan returned from Iceland, having not achieved an actual arms control agreement, or even a date for a future summit, many arms controllers felt even more frustrated.

In the week following the summit, Congress moved to ratify the agreement made the previous week. Some arms control lobbyists mounted an effort to defeat the continuing resolution as a protest against the President's summit failure, and the House abandonment of arms control. But pressure on Congress to adjourn for what was left of the fall campaign won out. Both the House and the Senate passed the continuing resolutions by safe margins.

Despite the serious blow to arms control which occured in the last days of the session, some saw reasons to be optimistic for next year. Throughout the negotiations with the Senate, arms controllers worked closely with House moderates and the House leadership. The key issues, David Lewis, a lobbyist for Physicians for Social Responsibility, predicts, will come up again soon, perhaps as early as February or March when Congress is likely to consider a Supplemental Appropriations bill. Funding for weapons which would violate the SALT II Treaty would be an issue in the bill, Lewis says, as would nuclear weapons testing.

"The best reason for optimism is [that] we got a commitment from the House leadership that we get another shot at SALT and testing," says Duncan. "What we have now is a commitment to raise the profile of the testing issue and bring it up early."

But grass-roots activists remain angry at House Democrats for lacking the political will to stand up to the President. Last summer's House actions on arms control stirred grass-roots excitement and "reassured those who were becoming cynical about American politics," observes Bobbie McCallum, a Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament activist in Denver, Colorado. "It's very disturbing," she says, "and a step backward, when a manipulation like this is effective." □

Citizen Diplomacy

How far can it go?

BY SUSAN SUBAK

The President's face was uncharacteristically somber when he left Reykjavik last month. The chances for a significant agreement for deep reductions in nuclear arsenals seemed distant once more. Hope that the leaders of the two superpowers would somehow overcome vast differences was at least temporarily put aside. For some observers, however, the Iceland summit only confirmed that achieving disarmament may be up to a different group of diplomats.

These diplomats have not been waiting in the wings to see what a summit would bring. They have been traveling to Moscow in large numbers and organizing educational programs in this country. The number of visitors to the Soviet Union has almost quadrupled since 1980. Eighty-nine exchange programs sponsored tours this year, up from 45 three years ago. In 1983, 131 groups registered their involvement in Soviet education and exchange programs with the Institute for Soviet-American Relations (ISAR). This year the entries reached 232.

Exchanges and Soviet-oriented programs are now taking place in virtually every cultural and professional field. CONNECT, a clearinghouse in Minneapolis, is helping hundreds to exchange art, photography, and "video letters" with the Soviets. The Carnegie Corporation and the Soviet Academy of Sciences have agreed to exchange programmers and computer instructors. The flow of information from computers and spacebridges (large screens hooked up to satellites) is so great that the Moscow municipal government is building a new, integrated communications facility. Beginning in January, Internews will create the first closed-circuit space bridge between members of Congress and the Supreme Soviet. Mountain Travel is sponsoring climbing trips in the Caucusus with Soviet mountaineers, and the New England Society of Newspaper Editors (NESNE) is holding regular meetings with the Soviet Union of Journalists. Ted Turner's Better World Society is following the Goodwill Games with a series of documentary films and television programs geared towards improving East-West relations. And so on.

But while citizen diplomacy has been thriving for several years, a qualitative shift has taken place this year in the type of exchanges being made. Private initiatives began aiming to change policy *now*, not after many years of promoting good feelings.

The Natural Resources Defense Council's (NRDC) agreement with the Soviet Academy of Sciences to send scientists to man new seismic stations in each other's countries propelled test ban action in Congress. A plan to set up "risk-reduction" centers in Washington and Moscow is now on the superpowers' agenda thanks largely to the crisis control proposal drawn up by The Nuclear Negotiation Project based at Harvard Law School. Several panels of high-ranking arms control analysts and international lawyers have been meeting with their Soviet counterparts to work out technical and legal approaches to limit the arms race.

FREEZE AND COLD WAR

And several peace groups that previously restricted their agendas to nuclear weapons issues have now launched public education programs about the Soviet Union. (*See "Grass Roots," page 30.*)

But while these programs represent a growing interest in working to improve relations between the two countries, as well as to arrive at a realistic view of the Soviet Union that would not compromise arms reduction goals, the commitment to this approach is not deep.

"The peace movement has been very slow to look at the Soviet question," says Jonathan Halperin, program director at The Committee for National Security. "There's still timidity in the movement because it's easy to get slammed by the Right." But he adds, "Peace groups and exchange programs are talking to each other more now, which is good."

The rise of the antinuclear movement in the early 1980s, of course, helped inspire the surge in citizen diplomacy. Another factor was rising curiosity about (and disbelief in) the image of the supremely evil Russian served up by the Reagan Administration. Since the decline of the freeze movement some activists have switched over to U.S.-Soviet work, partly in recognition that some of the reason for that decline was public hostility towards the Soviets. "About half of the Americans who take part in our exchange programs identify themselves with the peace movement but the other half is a whole new constituency," says Jim Garrison, director of the Esalen Institute.

The fact that the citizen diplomats represent a broad range of Americans is probably advantageous, but exactly *how* visitors are perceiving the Soviets after visiting the country has not yet been recorded by any formal surveys. It appears, however, that the views of liberals and conservatives toward the Soviet Union drift towards the middle following a visit. Still, citizen diplomacy has "helped to dispel the image of the Soviet as the neanderthal bureaucrat," says Jim Garrison. "The Americans uncover sophisticated Soviets they didn't know existed."

MOTORBOATS AND SAILBOATS

There's no doubt, though, that it is too soon to tabulate how the new diplomacy, which is geared for the long-term, is transforming public attitudes.

"Some of the professional exchanges now taking place will influence governments eventually," believes Jerry Hough, a leading Soviet expert at Duke University. Hough believes that the Gorbachev government's relative receptivity to western influences can be attributed partly to younger Soviet leaders' exposure to western ideas during the 1950s and 1960s. He recalls, for example, that years ago one of Gorbachev's closest advisors spent several months in New York City as part of a student exchange at Columbia University.

And Joseph Montville, research director at the State Department's Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, argues that while the official, or "Track One," diplomats are limited by having to make worst-case assumptions about an adversary's intentions, the private citizens, or "Track Two" diplomats, are "open-minded," "strategically optimistic," and therefore can "supplement the understandable short-comings of official relations."

Ivan Ostrovsky – USSR

Citizen diplomats, one argument goes, can take part in free-wheeling discussions that identify possibilities for subsequent *official* agreement that might otherwise have never come up.

But while the theoretical potential for citizen diplomacy is quite high, many of these hopes haven't been borne out in reality. Obstacles still exist to genuine interaction. They range from official decrees to barriers at the personal level.

Many visitors are struck not by how similar but how different the Soviets really are. Cultural dissimilarities are greater than one would imagine, according to Stanford University political psychologist Steven Kull. He holds that while Americans are like "motorboats" (inwardly motivated, individualistic and eager to take initiative), the Soviets are like "sailboats" (more at the mercy of their environment and aware that context, rather than content, is the causal factor in their behavior).

And while the Soviet Union has not openly discouraged American exchanges, in 1984 the Soviet government passed new laws that forbid any of its citizens from giving shelter, transportation or anything else to foreigners without official permission. While there haven't been any signs that the law has been enforced, it remains on the books.

IVAN & ANYA & JIM & SALLY

Citizen diplomacy still begs the question, What *next?* Even if the diplomats' aim is to build personal, cultural, and economic relationships with the Soviet Union so that a Soviet-American war is unthinkable to the *public,* it can happen anyway, instigated by their governments. People, as opposed to governments, can't start a war, particularly a nuclear war, nor can they directly prevent it.

How much do citizen exchanges tell visitors about the Soviet military and Soviet foreign policy? If these insights are left out, the peace movement is still not in a very strong position when it has to answer to the Right's charges that the Soviet Union is an expansionist power and it is producing ICBMs and cruise missiles at a furious rate, or that the Soviet Union has on record a strategic operational policy that includes plans to fight and win a nuclear war.

Equally importantly, the peace movement is left with the question, What About the United States? The recent Iceland summit only drove home that the President is holding on to the prospect for a space-based defense at all costs. Persuading the President that the Soviet people don't want a war will not shake his faith in SDI or erase a single line of the defense budget.

In fact, the President appears to share the citizen diplomat's view of Russian humanity. In a January 1984 address to the nation, Reagan reaffirmed his commitment to an unprecedented build-up in strategic nuclear weapons, and to the belief that it is essential to deal with the Soviets through military strength. Then he unexpectedly launched into an anecdote about "an Ivan and an Anya" who share a shelter from the rain with "a Jim and a Sally." The couples "find themselves comparing notes about their children" rather than debating "the differences between their respective governments." He closed his story: "Above all, they would have proven that people don't make wars."

Reagan's subsequent emphasis on cultural and student exchanges with the Soviet Union "may have been a bone for the peace movement," observes Gale Warner, coauthor of the forthcoming book, *Citizen Diplomats.* "He may have made the exchange agreement because he didn't believe it would make any difference."

Most professionals involved in citizen diplomacy think that if this is what the President is thinking, he is wrong. Friendliness, understanding, and interdependency are valuable cornerstones for future stability. But the peace community and the American public should avoid scrutinizing the Russian people at the expense of watching the Soviet and American governments. Citizen diplomacy may be "letting 100 flowers bloom, all of them worthwhile," in the words of Jim Garrison, but if the caretakers of the war machine are left alone the blossoms may wither on the vine. □

From Logan To Reagan

Private initiatives walk the tightrope

By Michael Shuman

The United States government began coping with citizen diplomats in 1798, when a Philadelphia Quaker named George Logan traveled to Europe in a last-ditch effort to prevent America and France from going to war. France, which was then battling Britain, had begun attacking American ships because of growing U.S. political cooperation with Britain. To the amazement of everyone, Logan returned to the United States with a decree from France indicating its willingness to end its trade embargo and to free all captured U.S. seamen. Instead of receiving a hero's welcome, Logan was castigated by a decidely pro-British Congress and President for his "usurpation of executive authority." The government hastily passed a law forbidding Americans from corresponding or meeting with "any foreign government . . . with intent to influence the measures or conduct of any foreign government . . . in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States. . . ."

The Logan Act remains on the books, a living testament to official discomfort with citizen diplomacy. Yet despite occasional invocations of the act to discredit citizen diplomats, the fact that there has never been a prosecution suggests that the government has also held competing, Jeffersonian beliefs in the virtues of citizen involvement in foreign policy.

The Reagan presidency has reflected these contradictions. The Administration came to office, shortly after the invasion of Afghanistan, bent on discouraging citizen involvement with what it called "the evil empire." It refused to renew the official cultural exchange agreement, cut the budgets of other exchange programs, denied visas to many would-be Soviet visitors, and increased restrictions on the movement and activities of the Soviets it allowed to visit.

Starting in 1984, the Administration's views began shifting. That June, President Reagan told a private conference on U.S.-Soviet relations: "We should broaden opportunities for American and Soviet citizens to get to know each other better. . . . The way governments can best promote contacts among people is by not standing in the way. . . ." Unfortunately, Administration actions failed to live up to the rhetoric. Reagan's appointees to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) refused to provide funds for a delegation of Public Broadcasting Service executives to visit Moscow and discuss arrangements for exchanging television shows.

Only in late 1985 did the Administration begin supporting citizen diplomacy in both word and deed. Just prior to the Geneva summit, President Reagan delivered a dramatic speech that echoed the points many citizen diplomats had been making for years: "Imagine how much good we could accomplish, how much the cause of peace would be served, if more individuals and families from our respective countries could come to know each other in a personal way. . . ."

At the Geneva summit, President Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev agreed to renew a number of exchanges and to resume direct commercial flights between the countries. When the President returned to Washington, he established a special office at the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) specifically to oversee and promote private citizen initiatives with the Soviet Union.

Despite this progress, however, the Reagan Administration's track record in citizen diplomacy remains mixed. The USIA office has been relegated to merely carrying private proposals to Soviet officials; it has provided zero financial support for them. After the summit accords on health cooperation had been signed, the State Department suddenly cancelled the American downlinks of a "space bridge" between medical scientists in the United States and the Soviet Union, apparently because it did not want Dr. Evgueni Chazov, the controversial co-founder of the Nobel Peace Prize-winning International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, to receive widespread American exposure. And most recently, the State Department attempted to thwart the Natural Resources Defense Council's agreement with the Soviet Academy of Sciences to monitor nuclear tests by putting restrictive conditions on the visas of visiting Soviet technicians. (In July, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle testified before a House subcommittee that NRDC's attempt at "citizen diplomacy" was "absurd.")

Like virtually every administration that has preceded it, the Reagan Administration is confused about how to handle citizen diplomacy. The President appears to believe that citizen diplomats embody what is best about America—pluralist thinking, independent initiative, and global responsibility. But he also seems prepared to co-opt or limit citizen activities whenever they begin to encroach upon and threaten his policy-making objectives. In years ahead, both the American and the Soviet governments are likely to continue displaying ambivalence toward citizen diplomacy. But global communication and transportation, once affordable only by very few, are now within the reach of millions of Americans. As more and more Americans attempt to visit and communicate with Soviets, both governments may find the flow of people, ideas, and goods slipping beyond their control. Although the Soviet government may always be able to commandeer its telephone and telex lines, the increasing availability of concealable, easily transported short-wave radios, tape recorders, video-cassette recorders, personal computers, and satellite transmitters means that American and Soviet citizens may soon be communicating with one another without either government's interference. Whatever the views of future politicians, technology may enable citizen diplomacy eventually to become, for all practical purposes, unstoppable. □

Michael Shuman is president of the California-based Center for Innovative Diplomacy and co-author with Gale Warner of the forthcoming book Citizen Diplomats: Pathfinders in Soviet-American Relations.

THE NEW SECURITY DEBATE: CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

A Conference for Activists, Academics, and Arms Controllers, January 30–February 1, 1987, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Entering the final years of the 1980s, the US peace movement stands at a crossroads. The purpose of this national conference is to help move the peace movement forward: to rethink its strategies for the next decade of peace activism, to create the foundation for a national educational effort around peace issues, and to strengthen the peace movement's challenge to existing modes of thought and action on issues of national security.

Topics for workshops and panels will include: alternatives to deterrence; reconceptualizing East/West relations; organizing for the 1988 elections; challenging the assault by the Right; the demilitarization of the blocs; limiting intervention; and the next decade of peace activism.

Registration will be limited to 260. Scholarships are available for peace activists. For more conference and registration information, please write to:

Institute for Peace and International Security,
P.O. Box 2651, Cambridge, MA 02238.
Or call: (617) 497-6360.

I • P • I • S

☐ Please send me conference registration information.
☐ Please include scholarship information.

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

City: _____ State: ___ Zip: _____

New Wave Diplomat

Interview with Esalen's Michael Murphy

Michael Murphy, the founder and chairman of the San Francisco-based Esalen Institute, is known to many as the father of "new wave citizen diplomacy"—specialized exchanges on innovative themes that began after official exchanges between the superpowers were reduced following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Murphy joined with a small group of associates to form the Esalen Institute's Soviet-American Exchange Program in 1979. The Exchange Program works with key Soviet institutions and individuals to open new channels of cooperation in promoting health, literature, political psychology, and, most recently, economic and social transformation. The following interview was originally taped for the Ark Communication Institute's radio series. Ark is a research and publishing center in the field of citizen diplomacy, based in California. Craig Comstock and Gordon Feller, both senior associates at Ark, conducted the interview. Craig Comstock is also co-editor of Citizen Summitry, *a new collection of essays on the rise of citizen diplomacy. (The book may be ordered for $10.95 by calling 800-367-3600.)*

Murphy: I think the most creative kind of Soviet policy has to include both a measure of deterrence and then as much radical outreach as we can through trade, through scientific and cultural exchange, through all the various forms of "Track Two" diplomacy that we're seeing today.

I've shifted some on this myself. I didn't appreciate the importance of a very firm defense and deterrence policy when I got into these exchange programs in 1979. But when I lived in Moscow for two months in an apartment in the winter of 1984, I spent 60 straight nights with our Russian friends talking about everything. Many of them tutored me on some of my "naive" attitudes, saying, for example, how much they respected Reagan. They felt that the chances for peace were greater under Reagan than under Carter because, as one person—he's a prominent party member—put it, "You know, under Carter our military industrial complex had an opportunity to move into seven countries, and that is a tremendous drain on our resources." And he said, "I salute your President Reagan" because "a President like that reduces the ambiguities."

And this was a shocking thing to me, because this man was a loyal Soviet citizen, and very prominent, but he was one of several Soviets who wanted me to understand that all our efforts in cultural and scientific exchange would work better if the U.S. had a very firm policy that established boundaries. That's a fairly widely held opinion among leading members of Soviet elites.

Now, having said that, there are so many things we can do. Can we create something like a Soviet-American culture which would become an entity in itself, founded on trade and on scientific and cultural exchange? Every time one of our exchanges gets going we notice it tends to proliferate two or three more exchanges. And gosh, in these last six years, it seems like Track Two diplomacy has become a fad or a fashion. There are now thousands of attempts where before there were just a few dozen. These organic filaments, as Thomas Carlysle said, unite the world, and we're weaving them between the two countries, making it more and more in each nation's self-interest to see the other one do well. A healthy bear, I think, is much better than a wounded bear backed into a corner and ready for blood or ready to reach out blindly. We want them to be stable and we want them to turn away from this expansionist policy of the late stages of their Soviet Empire.

Feller: And so you have a hard foreign policy stance on the one hand, but an engaging strategy at the cultural, economic and scientific level because you're dealing with segments of society that might be strengthened in the process, as compared to the weakening of the militarized portion?

Murphy: That's exactly right. You're dealing with a complex society. There are parts of that whole military-industrial complex that keep making tanks or making rockets or sending military advisors all over the world simply because that's what they know how to do. There's a tremendous momentum there and some of them are only going to stop, I feel, when the payoff is just not there, when it's just too expensive and draining.

There are tremendous forces in the Soviet Union that want peace, that want friendship with the U.S., that—given a chance—just spring right out. This is obvious to all of us who have been involved in exchanges—the warmth of the Russian people, their desire for peace, their generosity, the tremendous similarities with Americans. These late night talks, drinking toasts to peace and friendship—it's real. It is not in any way a snow job or cynical. But you have to have the right conditions so that this can be expressed, and that to me is the lifespring of this exchange—finding ways to make this real. And here is where American entrepreneurship, American imagination, can really do something, and we're beginning to see it now with these various programs.

You know most Americans still have a real insularity. I'm continually amazed at parties we have here with our Russian guests. Doctors and lawyers and people of great competence—their eyeballs pro-

trude as if on stalks when they see a live Soviet. I mean it feels like we're bringing in somebody with a bone through their nose or something . . . is it an *actual human being*? I say, "Well, what did you expect?" These are very intelligent people but they say, "I don't know what I expected." They'd never met a live Soviet.

Feller: Besides stereotyping, what are some of the psychological processes that go on in the U.S.-Soviet relationship, and how can we move beyond them?

Murphy: First, let's talk about projection. This is obviously at work. If you have no real experience of someone you can make up any story you want about them. You can project aggression on them, or you can project this massive peace-seeking thing that is totally naive. What we want is a clear perception and so I think psychological insight is useful to remind us all about our tendency to project on other people the stuff that's going on inside of us. That's a simple lesson but it takes a certain discipline.

We're impeded in this somewhat by the Soviet need for secrecy and their ancient habit of withholding information from the foreigner. Now, out of Gorbachev, there seems a real effort to open things up. That will really help America and the West to relax. We need the free flow of information to reduce paranoia.

Comstock: What forces in the Soviet Union, or people, want a much more moderate and constructive relationship and policy within their own country?

Murphy: Some people simply want a few more goods, maybe get an automobile, have a little bigger apartment—there's an enormous desire for a better standard of living. And they see how much of their money goes into this enormous army, the biggest arsenal of all time. It's very hard for them to track an exact *amount* but they have a very keen sense that it's a huge drain on the national treasury.

Put yourself in the place of a Soviet. His elevator does not work. His toilets cannot last more than a month or two until he must get the repairman in. He can't get any toilet paper. There are no vegetables in the wintertime. And at the same time, there's a massive space program, great armies in Eastern Europe, help flowing out to the brothers in Nicaragua and Angola and all around the world—they see this on television. These are very, very bright people, and they see all that and they want a better standard of living.

But then, secondly, there is a more sophisticated viewpoint among some of the people we know who work in some of the big institutes that study the West or study world economics, like Georgii Arbotov's Institute for the Study of the United States and Canada. They have a closer reading on the whole thing and my feeling in knowing a good number of them is that they are very pro détente. They have been since the 1960s. Arbotov has been called an Americanizer, arguing for strong Soviet-American relations. Their whole calculation is based on a closer reading of, for example, the tremendous wealth that could be generated

Get In Touch

The Institute for Soviet-American Relations is a good place to start for those who want to become involved in citizens' exchanges or Soviet education programs. ISAR publishes a 354-page handbook called *Organizations Involved in Soviet-American Relations*, and *Surviving Together*, a periodic journal on issues and activities in Soviet-American relations. Contact ISAR at: 1609 New Hampshire Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 387-3034.

NEW

Dr. Strangegod: *On the Symbolic Meaning of Nuclear Weapons*

by Ira Chernus

The nuclear debate has long been dominated by political and ethical issues. In this startling book, Ira Chernus adds a new dimension to the debate, one of equal importance — the religious meaning of the Bomb. Drawing on a wide variety of contemporary theories in religious studies, Dr. Chernus shows that as symbols of the divine have always offered comfort and fulfillment to humanity, our contemporary symbolism now includes a strange, new, nuclear god.

Dr. Strangegod is not a theological treatise, nor does it evaluate the morality of the Bomb. Rather it is an analysis by a historian of religions that examines the myths, rituals, and beliefs that shape our attitudes toward nuclear weapons.

Cloth, $22.95
ISBN: 0-87249-484-5

UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTH CAROLINA PRESS

Columbia, S.C. 29208
(803) 777-5243

ORDER FORM

Please send me ____ copies of **Dr. Strangegod @ $22.95** **$** _____

SC residents must add 5% sales tax **$** _____

Please add $1.50 per book for shipping and handling **$** _____

Total enclosed **$** _____

if there was more East-West trade.

And then, this sounds surprising to a lot of Americans, but a good number of Soviets want an opening of their culture to the West so that western ideas will enter the Soviet system. They really do like—although they may protest about it often, these older scientist types—the spirit of freedom that comes in through the BBC and the Voice of America and through American music and through language. I read an article in *Pravda* when we were over there which listed 300 or 400 American words now being used there! They're even using "father." That's a one-way flow of words. Those words are used because somehow America has the beat of freedom and prosperity. They know it. You know, osmosis works one way, and there's a cultural osmosis going on there and a lot of Soviets want that.

This is an old, old debate, in Russian culture before the Soviets. Peter the Great led the way toward westernization, but he was always opposed by the Slavophiles. Solzhenitsyn has argued that they need a more Russian culture. You have other types of people, like Sakharov, another dissident, who says, "No, we need a more western culture."

Feller: Where do you think in the next 10 years the most permeable membranes will be that allow the osmosis to occur? Will it be in the economics and the information technology, the arts?

Murphy: I would say it's where we're seeing it now. It's in popular culture, American pop, whether it's jeans or T-shirts with slang words or rock and roll—and with all the ideas that are attached to those symbols. I think that is probably where you see it most. Then, right on the heels—sports. Also, literature. They translate enormous numbers of books. I believe now they have sold over 400 million books by Americans involving about 6000 translated American titles and about 400 million British books. We have a writers exchange going on now to try to promote our appreciation of their fine contemporary literature. So I would say popular culture followed by sport, by literature and trade—everything from Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola to sophisticated computers.

One of the great challenges to that culture is: can they adapt to the computer? It means changing their character, the way they do business. Somebody called the Soviets "the cellular society." They do not have, he said, "horizontal communication." It's all vertical, it goes upstairs. You see what [computerization] implies? You could just tap a button and zap—it's a frightening thought. You could lose control. It's that horrible old Russian fear of losing control.

Feller: What would the Soviet Union under Gorbachev look like in the next, say, four years?

Murphy: I said to some people, "I hope Gorbachev doesn't turn out to be our last great disappointment." But so far, he looks like the first of the new. I hope he's not the last of the old. For me, it could go either way and I think we have a lot to do with how it goes. If we are firm and yet generous and accommodating enough it's going to facilitate this cadré that he's bringing in and I thank God for Gorbachev and that cadré. It's a tremendous historical opportunity. They represent a big transition generation.

I'm personally rooting for Gorbachev but I think it can go either way. He says he wants more openness and I think they're delivering on it. The reportage has gotten much more diverse in Moscow. There is considerable debate. Gorbachev set the tone with his great Leningrad speech on the economy and my gosh, it's in the air now, this criticism of bureaucracy. When we were there last winter, the sport was to see which minister would get fired every day and some people thought they were kind of parceling it out to keep the populace excited about changes.

My real feeling is no one knows how far the reforms can go. They saw Kosygin try and just get swallowed back up. I think that all the leaders over there, the reformers, are all rooting for Gorbachev and they're working for it, but we can't underestimate the inertia of that incredible society over there. Edward Keenan wrote that great essay on Russian political culture showing how it's essentially similar now to what it was under Ivan the Great! It got set in the 15th century and has the same cultural forms now. You've got a battle between character and system. Can the new character structure—which you can see in many young people who have a different kind of upbringing—slowly open this culture?

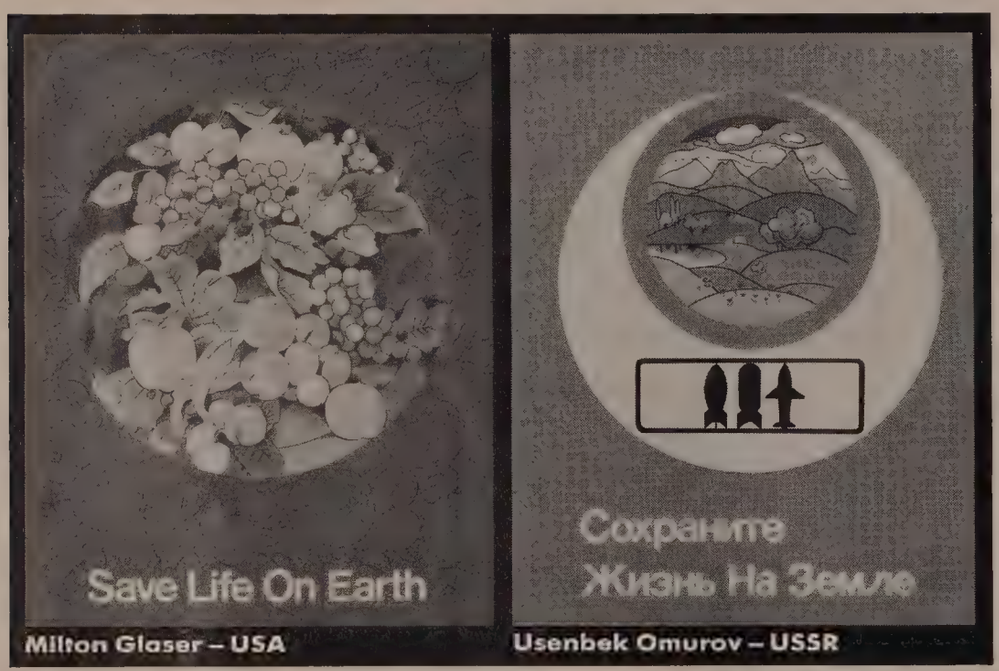
And again I say, here is where the American and western relationship has a lot to do with it. The more it's changed, the more chance they have to open up and appropriate modern ideas. The more paranoid it is, the less. My feeling now is that most educated Soviets are waiting to see—and doing what they can to keep the ball rolling towards modernization.

Comstock: If Reagan did what he proposed in that pre-Geneva speech [encouraging exchanges] it would be much more significant than the Peace Corps, possibly.

Murphy: I must say that during the years of the Esalen exchange we've had an awful lot of support from the State Department, Ambassador Arthur Hartman and the National Security Council. They have been good to us and supportive of citizens' exchange and we have not been impeded once in this.

Most people are not aware there are not hundreds, but thousands of initiatives. When we started this thing back in 1980 there were just a few because it had shut down to a low point after Afghanistan. Now Reagan's own office, headed by Steve Rhinesmith, is fomenting a lot of this. In fact, the Russians can barely accommodate all the Americans who come roaring in there. Arbotov said to us, "Gosh, we just don't have the personnel to handle all these proposals. We need a big ministry to deal with all these Americans who want to have exchanges."

Feller: Let me ask you one multiple-



Milton Glaser – USA

Usenbek Omurov – USSR

SAVINGS CERTIFICATE

1 YEAR (6 ISSUES) ONLY $18

(Save nearly 15% off the regular subscription rate)

YES! Please enter my subscription to **NUCLEAR TIMES** at the special discount rate of $18.

Name _____
(please print clearly)

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Add $5 Canada; $17 other foreign. (Please make checks payable in U.S. dollars).

☐ Payment enclosed—ADD A BONUS ISSUE ☐ Bill me later (U.S. only)
Please allow 6-8 weeks for delivery of first issue.
I am enclosing an additional tax deductible contribution of $ _____ to support NUCLEAR TIMES.

X116

NuclearTimes

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 7996 NYC, N.Y.

Postage will be paid by addressee

NUCLEAR TIMES
P.O. Box 39996
Washington, D.C. 20077-5095

choice question. You're an American oil magnate. You've got 20 million dollars and you have a mission which is to inject massive resources into an area in the next year that's going to fundamentally help change the course of U.S.-Soviet relations. You've got the potential for parachuting hundreds of thousands of Macintosh computers into the Soviet hinterlands. Another option is funding massive citizen exchanges. Third is the kind of thing that Ted Turner was doing with the Goodwill Games—take a sector which is highly visible, like sports. What would you do right now with $50 million?.

Murphy: I think with that sum I would go for social acupuncture, the big bang for the buck. Turner's doing that, I think. Let's do these kinds of stunts if you have that amount. Now if you're talking about billions of dollars, then you're talking about trade, you're talking about cultural exchange and scientific exchange.

Feller: Send them lots of punk records.

Murphy: The fact that a Soviet rock group is over here, that's a good one, that's a very good one. And the fact that John Denver went over there is good. Those kinds of things I think give you a lot of bang for the exchange buck.

I think some of these space bridges are fantastic. The one we did on Chernobyl-Three Mile Island was like that. It cost $170,000 to have Soviets and Americans say, "Hey, we're in the soup together, OK," and in front of cable television. Space bridges could grow. The Donahue ones with Vladimir Posner are great, I think. Watching one of them, my legs started to shake involuntarily. This happened to me once during a Handel concert. And I said, "My God, I'm excited." That's because I know how this will play in the Soviet Union when it was shown all over. They're looking and seeing these crazy Americans criticizing their own government like mad and *why can't we do it?* So I say, more space bridges and have it wide open, funky is good. That way the Soviets are getting to trust their own people, they're trusting the process, they see these Americans and they just have the greatest time together.

These are ways to play together, ways to open up the future together. I'd love to see us get into some joint productions. Lawrence Schiller tried to do this over there with the drama on Peter the Great, and Andre Koncholovsky is over here trying to get joint Soviet-American movie productions. They have relatively cheap facilities over there for staging these things, and we have the American high tech stuff here. I would love to see a big epic movie of Soviets and Americans. These kinds of stunts would go a long way.

Henry Kissinger had a great line. He said, "We're doomed to co-existence." It's a wonderfully ironic statement. It's like being in this marriage we cannot get out of. We've got to work on it—so let's be creative. □

Poster Art

The posters by Soviet and American artists reprinted throughout this Cover section represent an unprecedented collaboration. Over 175 artists from 22 countries have contributed original designs to an exhibition, sponsored by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, which has been touring Europe and Asia and will appear in America next year. Each of the full-color paintings or illustrations is captioned "Save Life On Earth." They are collected in a new book, *Save Life on Earth,* published by Elefanten Press, which includes text by, among others, John Hersey.

CITIZEN DIPLOMACY INC.

SISTER CITY PROGRAMS

Custom People-to-People TOURS

THE CITIZEN DIPLOMAT Magazine

CULTURAL & EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES

• CONFERENCES
• SEMINARS
• EXPERT SPEAKERS

AT THE CENTER OF US/SOVIET RELATIONS

• TRANSLATING
• INTERPRETING
• TYPESETTING
• PUBLISHING

EAST COAST
408 W. University Ave.
Gainesville, FL 32601
(904) 376-0326

WEST COAST
894 Highland, N.E.
Salem, OR 97303
(503) 364-1736

The Second Annual US/Soviet Sister Cities Conference
May 14 - 16, 1987 • Seattle, Washington

10 9 8
7 6 5
4 3

CANCEL THE COUNTDOWN

Why will thousands of peace & justice activists travel to Cape Canaveral, Florida, January 17?

(a) to go to the beach
(b) to protest and cancel the first test of the Trident II missile
(c) to stop Star Wars development
(d) to end nuclear warhead and flight testing as the first steps toward total abolition
(e) all of the above

Join thousands of Americans at the Pentagon's foremost missile and Star Wars testing facility.

National Demonstration and Nonviolent Actions

Cape Canaveral, Florida
January 17, 1987
(Martin Luther King Weekend)

NATIONAL mobilization FOR SURVIVAL

853 Broadway, #418, NY, NY 10003
212-533-0008

Detente By Satellite

Can space bridges span differences?

BY TONY KAYE

Early this summer 400 women from Boston and Leningrad held a three-hour "Citizens' Summit" via satellite. Five days later, the one-hour American television broadcast of the event offered a visual image that provided an unwittingly accurate assessment of what had transpired: a clip of a drawbridge opening wide over the Mystic River against a cloudy, twilight sky.

This was the second time Phil Donahue and Vladimir Posner, a Soviet commentator and frequent government spokesman on American television, had gathered their countrymen to probe and peer at one another from opposite ends of a "space bridge." Donahue hopes to sponsor more citizens' summits. Experts have also found space bridges a convenient form of communication. In September, Soviet and American authorities on nuclear power met via space bridge to discuss the accidents at Chernobyl and Three Mile Island. And on November 15, scientists and policymakers from the United States, Great Britain, West Germany and the Soviet Union will debate Star Wars at a "Satellite Summit."

OZONE DIPLOMACY

The first citizens' summit placed Donahue and an audience in Seattle before a large television screen showing Posner and his guests arrayed before an equally large screen. United by television, they soon tripped over the same issues dividing their leaders. The Leningrad audience heard an American compare their government to the Third Reich, a remark that was edited out of the Soviet broadcast. According to a *Boston Globe* story on the announcement of "Citizens' Summit II—Women to Women," Posner and Donahue predicted "the big questions might take a back seat to 'the more human' topics like family relationships, child bearing, abortion, single mothers, divorce."

At the outset of Summit II, which I attended in the Boston studio, this is the agenda the women chose for themselves. Slowly, however, the Americans found weak spots in the border between the personal and the political. Then an American woman, identifying herself as "a member of the armed forces," erected a southern flank, asking if any of the Leningrad women had served in Afghanistan. One confessed to having done her "inter-

Alexander & Victor Kudinov – USSR | May Stevens – USA

Tony Kaye is a senior staff associate at the New York University Center for War, Peace and the News Media.

nationalist duty," and another said her son might have to do his, too. The American television broadcast omitted the discussion of Afghanistan, picking up the summit as the Soviets retreated to neutral, more personal, ground.

"Let's discuss love," suggested one woman. "That's a real woman's issue." There were no takers. Instead, the discussion turned to the problems of minorities, working women, single parenting, abortion and teenage pregnancy.

At times, the Soviet women were vague and formal. At others, they were funny and honest. "Why are there so many single mothers [in the United States]," asked one. "Is this a problem, or have the Americans found a new way to have children?" When a Soviet teacher said teenage pregnancy was not a problem in her country, a young Russian girl rose to say, "I think we *do* have a problem like that. . . ."

But the Americans weren't satisfied with all the answers they had received. "I don't think they're being as open as we are, there seems to be a suppression of what's really going on," one woman observed. Raised hands beckoned Donahue from around the room. "I want to know about the minorities," a second woman remarked. "What about the Jews? Are there any Jews in your audience?"

Suddenly the only thing uniting the two sides was a palpable wave of depression. The citizens' summit had reached an impasse. The Soviets fielded the questions, but one woman seemed to sum up the response from Leningrad when she told the Americans that "you're asking questions about problems that don't exist."

Eventually, the tension was broken by an American who asked the Soviet women what they had in their purses. The Soviet women responded with smiles, many of them reaching for their handbags. The program ended with repeated declarations of good will and continued faith in citizen summitry.

Something, nevertheless, *had* happened during the space bridge. While many of the Americans later identified women in the Leningrad audience they suspected were KGB agents, they also mentioned others who touched them with their honesty and sincerity.

But "Citizens' Summit II" had failed as an attempt to encourage Soviet and American citizens to put aside their political differences and explore their shared personal and social concerns, essentially because that goal ran at cross purposes with the process of a space bridge. When Donahue's executive producer Pat McMillen came out to warm up the Boston audience she suggested they think of the space bridge as if "you've invited the Rus-

"With images both beautiful and horrifying, PEACE: A Dream Unfolding *reminds us that the world we know is too precious to place at nuclear risk."*
—EDWARD ASNER

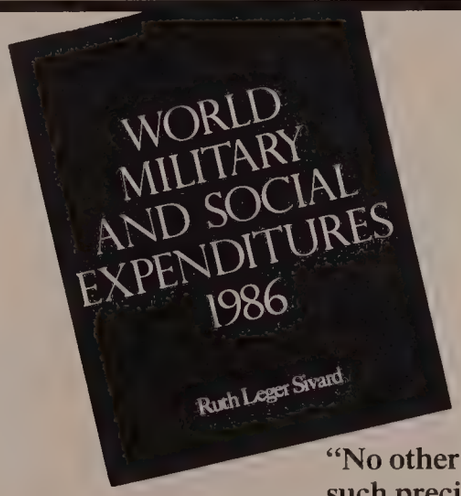
PEACE

A DREAM UNFOLDING

EDITED BY PATRICK CREAN AND PENNEY KOME
INTRODUCTION BY BERNARD LOWN, M.D., AND EVGUENI I. CHAZOV, M.D., CO-FOUNDERS OF INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AND NOBEL PEACE PRIZE LAUREATES

Illustrated with 100 color photographs and 150 black-and-white photographs. $18.95 quality paperback.

At your bookstore now.
SIERRA CLUB BOOKS



"No other document brings together with such precision the relationship between spending for arms and non-spending for peace." *The Washington Post*

"Startling comparisons and disturbing facts." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*

"An arresting and powerful document–eloquent and starkly concise." *Newsletter, Physicians for Social Responsibility*

WORLD PRIORITIES Inc.
Box 25140, Dept. FM
Washington, D.C. 20007
$5.00 prepaid includes postage

Peace Issues Bibliography Service

FINDING IT HARD TO KEEP UP?

PIBS is a real time-saver for educators and organizers! Topics include Peace Education, Non-Violent Conflict Resolution, Threat and Effects of Nuclear War, and many others.

- Computerized data-base
- Over 700 resources
- Carefully annotated
- Tailor-made listings according to subject/s, type/s of material and level you select
- Up-dated regularly

$4.00 PER BIBLIOGRAPHY

To order, **WRITE OR CALL:**
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
National College of Education
2840 Sheridan Rd.
Evanston, IL 60201
312/256-5150 x329

KEEP NUCLEAR WEAPONS OUT OF YOUR DAILY LIFE

with the

COVENANT — For a World Free of Nuclear Weapons

1. ***Socially Responsible Buyer's Guide:***
   - Products of nuclear weapons contractors like GE light bulbs . . . Morton salt . . . AT&T long distance . . . Teflon-coated frypans.
   - Alternative products from non-weapons producers.
2. ***Directory*** of top 30 nuclear weapons contractors; sample letters to company president; socially responsible investment funds.
3. ***Logo*** in color of our planet.

COVENANT FOR A WORLD FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Buyer's Guide — $3 ***Complete Kit*** — $5

Order from: WAND — Covenant
P.O. Box 1815
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1815

sian women to your home for coffee." Unfortunately, it's hard to imagine a less intimate setting than 200 individuals waiting under the glare of television lights for their 200 guests to appear on television from 5000 miles away, knowing that in the coming days more than 100 million people from the Rockies to the Urals would be watching them on their own television screens.

Thus, it's not surprising that the summit quickly segued from the personal to the political. And, in fact, McMillen had sent the Boston audience a mixed message, encouraging an intimate and depoliticized atmosphere on the one hand, and priming the audience to ask pointed political questions on the other.

This double message reflected the tension between the requirements of selling a television program and the demands of a cordial and productive summit, a tension that Donahue discussed openly at the press conference following "Citizens' Summit II." Space bridges have been greeted with suspicion by those who believe that, as Donahue put it, "any kind of reaching out helps the Soviets cosmetically." When Donahue began floating the idea of co-producing the first summit "everyone chuckled," he revealed, "including some people I really respect. They patted me on the head, and said, 'Go play. But you don't really think the [Soviet] audience is going to be legit?'"

Much of the press has been quick to pick up on this sentiment. The *Seattle Times* and the *Boston Herald* welcomed Donahue's summits to their towns with hostile editorials. The first question at the press conference after "Citizens' Summit II" was: "How many party members were in the audience in Leningrad?"

In order to sell the program, Donahue has forged a compromise with the current political climate. He has produced space bridges, believing that "you give people light, and they will find their own way." But to make citizens' summits credible to skeptics, Donahue has encouraged their contentious political content. "There's a sense that if I can't get *this* in," he admits, "no one's going to believe this program." And political disagreement makes very dramatic television, giving the citizens' summits a conflict to be laid out, explored and resolved.

But there's nothing wrong with a political emphasis. It probably does more for international understanding than a more personal dialogue would have. We need to understand the Soviet Union, not in spite of our political differences, but precisely because of them. The American audience was mortified to hear an old Jewish women in Leningrad say, "All nationalities are equal here. Why are you picking on the Jews? We have a fantastic life here. Our Jews live better than yours do, I assure you." This sincere defense of Soviet anti-Semitism is instructive, even if the lesson you draw from it is not likely to be encouraging.

A space bridge that doesn't deal mainly with such issues simply isn't worth building. And the discussion of those issues must be kept on track. Participants on both sides of "Citizens' Summit II" used the wide-open format to evade each other's questions. An agenda limiting the discussion to two or three specific topics would discourage one-upsmanship. For further illumination it might be productive to select an audience in one Soviet city and one American city and stick with them over a period of months, or even years. What impressed the Americans most about the space bridge was how forcefully the personalities of the Leningrad women came across on the television screen in Boston. Regular encounters might allow the American women to be as forthcoming as they wanted the Russian women to be. After a few summits on regional conflicts, human rights, and so on, perhaps the two audiences could sit down to the main event: a citizens' summit on how to end the arms race.

Even in the best of circumstances, however, it is important not to expect too much from space bridges. There is a growing tendency to try to alter the political climate that encourages the arms race, rather than engage the arms race directly with a bold and uncompromising plan that might end it. The technology of space bridges will greatly facilitate communication between citizens but, like all tools that attempt to change the climate of superpower relations, it is at best a circuitous route to ending the arms race. □

Bringing In The Sheep

Enterprise warms Soviets and Americans

BY TERESA TRITCH

It is hard to imagine bucolic Kezar Falls, Maine, nestled in the foothills of the White Mountains, as a hub of international trade. Yet one Kezar Falls couple, Peter and Marty Tracy Hagerty, divide their time between raising two children, sheep farming, logging *and* managing a burgeoning Soviet/American business enterprise.

Their product is Peace Fleece, four ounce skeins of yarn blended with equal amounts of Soviet and American wool, packaged in $15 kits that include patterns, the Peace Fleece brochure and a sew-in label reading "Soviet American Wool."

After watching *The Day After*, Peter Hagerty was, he says, overwhelmed by the realization of "how likely a nuclear accident or nuclear war is." He decided to utilize the things he valued to make a contribution toward greater cooperation and understanding. In 1985, he joined a farm tour to the Soviet Union. He originally planned to merely shear sheep there, because while the Soviet Union produces more wool than any other country in the world, the shortage of trained shearers is acute. But as part of an idea arrived at in conversations with his wife, Hagerty decided to buy some Soviet wool which he could bring home, blend with American wool and spin into Peace Fleece.

With the idea of selling the wool, however, Hagerty broadened his initial goal of personal contact with his Soviet counterparts. "I'm not going there to talk about peace and disarmament," he says. "They need hard currency and we need an export market. That's meeting people *and* building trust."

The Soviets are known for their protracted way of doing business, but on Hagerty's first day in Moscow he made a deal to purchase 1200 pounds of Soviet wool from Nikolai Emelianov, director of Firm Runo, a government-owned corporation that handles the State's Five Year Plan for cotton, wool and synthetic fiber. "I felt my despair give way to hope," Hagerty reports, "because a small bit of trust had passed between people, trust that could be built on over time."

The first shipment of wool received a mixed reception when it arrived in Boston in early 1986. U.S. Customs slapped a 35 cent per pound import tax on it, which reflects the Soviet Union's lack of a most-favored-nation trading status, and a punitive tax levied on imports from the Communist world. But at a press conference held in Boston's financial district and attended by potential Soviet trade partners, the venture was applauded. The American wire services, as well as *Pravda*, picked up the Peace Fleece story. The free advertising set Peace Fleece sales off at a pace that has never abated. More than 1000 orders have been placed so far.

In addition to mail orders that Marty Hagerty coordinates out of their home, some one dozen wholesale outlets nationwide now carry the product. Although the kits are not yet available commercially in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Women's Committee and the Soviet Peace Committee have introduced the fleece as gifts. By early 1988, the Hagertys hope to have Peace Fleece in craft stores and Deriozka shops where tourists and select Soviet citizens may shop with both hard currency and rubles. "I do not know of any other commodity item on this scale made in the USA sold in the Soviet Union," says Hagerty. "With Peace Fleece," he explains, "there is no political problem, because the product is as much Soviet as American. The problem is practical," he adds, "because the Soviet Union places orders in such huge quantities."

As the demand for Peace Fleece increases, the Hagertys are using their newfound expertise to encourage others to embark on Soviet-American business ventures. In February, Hagerty is planning to hold a workshop in Boston for bankers and computer programmers.

Other U.S.-based operations are also setting their sights on Soviet-American enterprises. Belka International, Inc., for example, a recently-formed New York and Moscow-based consulting firm for businesspeople, has arranged meetings between Soviet and American television and recording industry personnel; deals between hotel executives and exercise equipment manufacturers are also in the works. "The potential is there," says Marina Albee, president of Belka International, "and there are not enough hours in the day to tap it. The Soviets," she notes, "are ready to go. We're looking forward to a very busy winter." □

DO YOU KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS?

SURVIVING TOGETHER
An Update on Soviet-American Relations

This journal provides the good news about Soviet-American relations. Its hundred pages cover exchanges, public education programs, travel, legislation and reviews of current books and materials.

The journal is a networking tool for those already in the business; it is a start-up tool for those interested in beginning a Soviet-American relationship. It has been dubbed the "Bible of Soviet-American relations."

SUBSCRIBE NOW
Published 3 times a year/$24

1986 HANDBOOK ON ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

This 354-page handbook is the "Yellow Pages" of Soviet-American programs.

- 230 organization profiles
- Lists of recommended books, films, videos, guidebooks, travel organizations, Russian language study programs and Soviet journals and newspapers.
- Advice on developing exchange programs.
- Lists of U.S. and Soviet government offices, with addresses and telephone numbers.
- Names of Soviet Politburo and Secretariat members, and Soviet and American ambassadors.
- Copies of exchange agreements.

The handbook is rich in information useful to all Americans interested in the Soviet-American relationship.

$15 individuals
$25 organizations

Institute for Soviet-American Relations
1608 New Hampshire Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20009

Journey To The Red Planet

Joint U.S.-Soviet mission to Mars gets a boost

BY SUSAN SUBAK

The skies above Mars are pink but there's no water in them. The planet's surface is riddled with canyons and stream beds, but appears to be dry with no signs of life—not even a microbe. Does the disappearance of water on Mars and its biological death foretell Earth's own destiny? A journey to Mars, which most aeronautical scientists only think possible if the United States and the Soviet Union collaborate, could find the answer—and perhaps more importantly help to defuse superpower military competition. A small but influential group of space scientists, alternative defense scholars and congressmembers are embracing the prospect of a joint Mars trip as one of the strongest opportunities for directly reducing the likelihood of the biological destruction of our planet due to nuclear war.

This summer the National Academy of Sciences hosted a conference of NASA space scientists that focussed on an international manned mission to Mars. The same month, President Reagan reportedly proposed to General Secretary Gorbachev that both countries examine plans for cooperative ventures in space. In mid-September a delegation made up of officials from NASA and other U.S. government agencies traveled secretly to Moscow to talk about joint space ventures, including a trip to Mars.

In Congress, Senators Spark Matsunaga, Paul Simon and William Proxmire have introduced a resolution urging the President to renegotiate the lapsed space cooperation agreement and take up discussions on a joint manned flight to Mars. Earlier this year, the Maine legislature passed a resolution calling on the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union to "do everything in their power" to commit their countries to a joint manned space flight to Mars.

Serious supporters of this idea can be divided into roughly two camps: those who are primarily pro-space, and those who are chiefly pro-arms control (or pro-détente). The former are members of space groups, the largest of which is the Planetary Society, headed by Carl Sagan, who recently wrote a cover article on the Mars mission for *Parade* magazine. Eighty-five percent of its 100,000 members are male, and the majority are politically moderate. The fact, however, that they now reject the competitive ethos of the space race of the 1950s and 1960s and favor joint ventures is seen by some as a bellwether of the new public view of space.

COURTESY OF NASA

Astronaut Thomas Stafford and cosmonaut Aleksey Leonov aboard Apollo/ Soyuz spacecraft

The second camp consists of a handful of alternative defense scholars and peace-oriented space research and education groups, the most notable of which is the Washington-based Institute for Security and Cooperation in Outer Space (ISCOS). ISCOS, headed by Carol Rosin, a former corporate manager of an aerospace company, promotes an extensive list of space projects to serve as an alternative to the Strategic Defense Initiative. Affiliated with ISCOS is Daniel Deudney, who is the intellectual leader of the movement to exploit space for peaceful purposes. Deudney, a scholar at Princeton University, is becoming known for his "Star Trek" agenda, which proposes joint manned "exploitation" of deep space combined with the joint use of space technology to study the earth and environment.

Deudney and his colleagues who are advocating spending large sums to explore outer space have been challenged by some of those few members of the terrestrial peace movement that have taken note of the space agenda. In a letter in the fall 1985 issue of the *World Policy Journal*, Marcy Darnovsky, editor of *It's About Time*, challenged the idea of spending billions on a joint trip to Mars when the money could be spent on joint projects with the Soviets to meet earthbound challenges, such as developing public-access computer networks, alternative energy sources, and toxic waste treatment centers.

Deudney has replied that while spending for social and environmental programs may seem less frivolous than a major space program, these programs are unlikely to sufficiently capture the imagination of the public—especially conservatives and Star Wars boosters—to forestall a space-based defense program. Deudney maintains that sharing technology would erase fears of a "technological Pearl Harbor," and would make concealed

weapons work difficult to keep secret.

Deudney, as well as groups such as the Progressive Space Forum and the Colorado STARS Committee, have argued that, considering employment dislocation, "forging missiles into spaceships" is easier than "beating swords into subways," as Seymour Melman and other economic conversion analysts advocate.

Many of these arguments for cooperation have fueled interest in a long list of ideas for cooperative ventures. This year, the National Commission on Space produced a report mandated by Congress that recommended an extensive program for civilian space ventures for the next 50 years. The President has signed the report but has yet to urge that its recommendations be supported by funding.

ISCOS is now promoting similar ideas, including a joint space command post that would serve as headquarters for future joint ventures and a clean-up program to rid space of orbiting debris. (The impact of space refuse as small as loose paint chips has damaged or incapacitated U.S. and Soviet satellites, and risks setting off an accidental war during a crisis.) The United States could offer the Soviets rides on the shuttle, and the Soviets could bring American astronauts aboard their MIR Space Station; eventually the Soviet station could be used as a base to work on materials processing technology.

But ISCOS' recommendations go beyond those of the National Commission on Space, for they also include programs for common security and crisis control. The superpowers could support multilateral arms control verification, for example, by taking part in the International Satellite Monitoring Agency (ISMA).

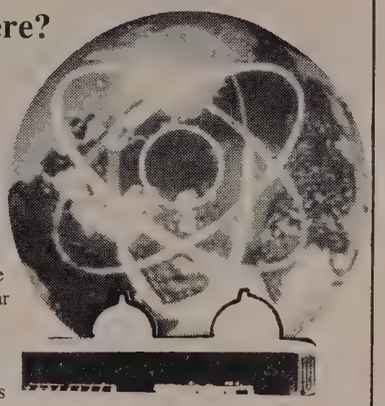
Among the longer-term ideas being discussed by ISCOS are a joint military command post in space and on earth to reduce the threat of nuclear war by accident or misinterpretation; solar-powered energy research; and an international service to defend the earth from devastating collisions with large meteorites. (The Tungaska meteor, which fell in Siberia in 1905, had a force greater than several Hiroshima-sized bombs.)

MARS BARS?

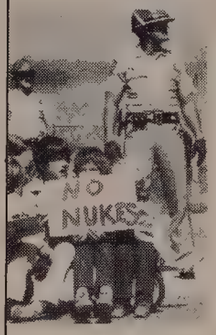
Cooperation in space has already taken place on a small scale, with the Apollo/Soyuz rendezvous in 1976 and an operation called Search and Rescue Satellite Aided Tracking (SARSAT), which has saved more than 400 lives by making use of Soviet and American satellites to pick up distress signals from ships at sea.

A year ago, the Association of Space Explorers (ASE) was founded and already has drawn dozens of astronauts and cosmonauts from the Soviet Union, the

Chernobyl: can it happen here?



A Question of Power 59 minutes, video
Written and Directed by David L. Brown
Narrated by Peter Coyote



A QUESTION OF POWER is a moving and informative film history of the nuclear power controversy and the antinuclear movement. Its focus is the thirty-year grassroots opposition to the peaceful atom' in California, where the antinuclear power movement was born and reached its peak. The documentary combines inspirational portraits of nuclear opponents with authoritative testimony and investigative reporting. Activists and educators alike are referring to A QUESTION OF POWER as the definitive film history of the antinuclear movement.

"A QUESTION OF POWER *is a documentary that not only informs and frightens, but also excites and inspires. The film reminds us inescapably of what informed citizens can achieve together if they put their minds and bodies where their hearts are."*
David Brower, Founder, Friends of the Earth

"A QUESTION OF POWER *is the best documentary on nuclear power and citizen activism that I have seen. It is a paean to the power of true American democratic action."*
Philip Tymon, Executive Director, Nuclear Information and Resource Service

"A QUESTION OF POWER *is a timely, stirring and beautifully filmed program suitable for classroom study or for viewing by social change organizations who wish to study the history of a well-organized grassroots campaign."*
GROUNDSWELL, Nuclear Information and Resource Service

"A QUESTION OF POWER *is one of the best and most definitive media histories of the antinuclear movement... It should be seen by everyone who cares about the Earth, about our legacy to the future and about effective techniques of social change."*
John Gofman, M.D., Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of Medical Physics, U.C. Berkeley

Awards: San Francisco International Film Festival, Philadelphia International Film Festival, Columbus International Film Festival, Humboldt Film Festival.
Broadcast Nationally on Public Television.

Available in Beta and VHS video cassettes.
Sale **$95**, Rental **$45.**
Information, purchase or rental:
Write to David L. Brown, 2114 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, CA 94118. (415) 929-0766.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS DATABOOK

From the drawing board to the launch pad, every aspect of the process of developing a nuclear weapon.

"If subsequent volumes of the **Databook** match, or even approximate the thoroughness and clarity of [Volume I], the arms control community will have a very useful tool." — *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*

Volume II: *U.S. Nuclear Warhead Production*

Thomas B. Cochran, William M. Arkin, Milton M. Hoenig, and **Robert S. Norris**

The most explicit account available about how nuclear weapons are made, covering every aspect of the process, from concept development through delivery to the military.
March 1987
$39.95 cloth $24.95 paper

Volume III: *U.S. Nuclear Warhead Facility Profiles*

Thomas B. Cochran, William M. Arkin, Milton M. Hoenig, and **Robert S. Norris**

Supplements Volume II with a detailed description of the laboratories, test sites, materials fabrications and enrichment reactors, and production facilities.
March 1987
$39.95 cloth $24.95 paper

YES! Please send me:
VOLUME II ___ Cloth (6611073) $39.95
___ Paper (6611081) $24.95
VOLUME III ___ Cloth (6611099) $39.95
___ Paper (6611610) $24.95

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me
Charge my ☐ MC ☐ VISA ☐ AMX
Card no. _____ Exp. date____
Signature _____
Send to:_____
_____
_____ Zip _____

BALLINGER
Harper & Row
Order Department
2350 Virginia Avenue, Hagerstown, MD 21740
(800) 638-3030

My state sales tax $_____
Postage/handling ($1.50/bk)* $_____
***Prepaid orders are postage free!**
TOTAL $ _____

Prices subject to change. All orders subject to credit approval. U.S. funds only. If you order by phone, tell the operator your order code is **ANT1186**

United States and several other countries. This elite club has met and discussed their singular experience in viewing the fragility of the planet, and their common commitment to ensuring its survival. They held their second annual meeting in October and discussed the prospects of space habitation and colonization, but the use of space tehnology for resolving environmental problems and a manned Mars mission remain a priority.

ASE was founded not through NASA, but due to the private efforts of Russell Schweickart, a former U.S. astronaut. Schweickart reports that some of the U.S. space scientists have been deterred from participating by warnings from NASA that their future flight assignments could be jeopardized if they join ASE.

In part to avoid outside interference, the National Center of Atmospheric Research is working with ASE and the Esalen Institute to design a permanent computer conference for Soviet and American scientists to discuss cooperative development of space technology and exploration, and other topics of mutual interest.

For a significant space partnership to develop, however, support from NASA will be necessary. But some believe that NASA's recalcitrance over joint ventures may already have impaired the chances of a joint trip to Mars. "We're looking for leadership within NASA to advance cooperation," says Louis Friedman, executive director of the Planetary Society. "But pushing them is a little like pushing against spaghetti."

In their most recent budget submission, NASA recommended a reduced authorization for a Mars flight, which would delay by two years, to 1992, a planned unmanned American space probe to Mars. Since the Soviet Union plans to send its probe to Mars' moons in 1988, some believe the United States may be forfeiting an opportunity to contribute to a joint partnership.

"We need to be competitive to cooperate," argues David Landau, Washington director of Search for Common Ground, which has been urging the Administration to put a Mars expedition on its agenda for the next summit. Senator Spark Matsunaga, whose book, *The Mars Project: Journeys Beyond the Cold War*, was recently published, also believes that the United States needs to enhance its competitiveness in space. "The Soviet Union has pulled ahead of the United States in multilateral space initiatives and we need to catch up," explains Harvey Meyerson, a Matsunaga aide.

John Marks, executive director of Search for Common Ground, agrees. "But," he adds, "for me the purpose of going into space is still to move the *Earth* around." □

The Scientific Method

Superpowers exchange specialists

BY SUSAN SUBAK

For American scientists on the international lecture and teaching circuit, a trip to the Soviet Union is not usually the most appealing junket. The food is usually boring, the climate chilly—and so on. Some of the scientists have had to answer charges back home that their participation in exchange programs is gratuitous, perhaps even disloyal. American science is superior, critics say, and these exchanges are a one-way street, with all the talent and information flowing east.

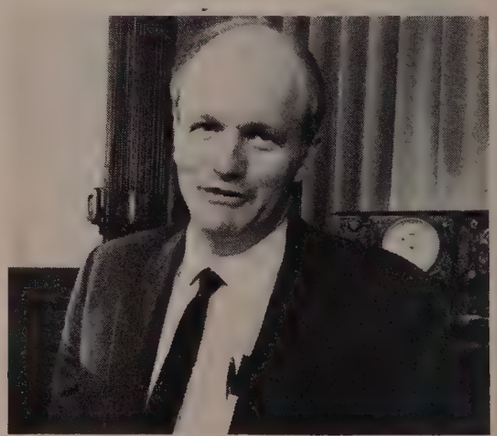
In part to dispel these perceptions, Representative Lee Hamilton held congressional hearings in July on the benefits to the United States of scholarly and scientific exchanges that have taken place between the United States and the Soviet Union since the Nixon-Brezhnev Accord of 1972.

There is a growing concern, the hearings made clear, that exchange activities might ease the transfer of vital military technology, but this problem, asserted Dr. Frank Press, president of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS), seems manageable. Most of the other obstacles to beneficial exchange involve a degree of political linkage. Some American scientists won't take part because of Soviet mistreatment of Russian scientists. Others are reluctant to participate because they fear that their project will inevitably fall victim to a superpower squabble. Usually it is governments, not individual scientists, who break off scientific exchange programs, and the scientists are not consulted.

Most of Hamilton's hearing, however, centered on a long list of little-known cooperative projects with valuable spin-offs. A pharmaceutical company in this country, for example, is now marketing a drug useful in preventing cardiac arrest; the drug was developed in the Soviet Union. The Department of Commerce reported that it had benefited from the Soviet's plasma research, which is the most advanced in the world. The NAS testified that the Soviets' analysis of sea ice contributed to a better understanding of heat transfer in polar ice caps.

Official exchanges taking place are in the fields of health, artificial heart research, space, atomic energy, agriculture, oceanography, energy, environmental protection and science and technology. The NAS and the Soviet Academy of Sciences have formed working groups in the areas of microbiology, forestry, heat and mass transfer, and computer applications to management.

But official exchanges represent only a fraction of the scientific swaps taking place. The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), located in Princeton, New Jersey, has been arranging exchanges between scholars in the United States and Soviet Union for 28 years. Its exchange program, with a budget of $5 million and a staff of 25, is the largest in the country and is presently operating at its highest volume in its history. IREX estimates that its exchanges have been responsible for more than 4000 books,



COURTESY OF THE STAR LEDGER

Physicist von Hippel exchanges views

articles, and dissertations. The IREX program has weathered the storm of deterioriating relations between the two governments and the six-year halt to most official scientific and professional exchanges that followed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

IREX's projects, asserts Allen Kassof, its director, complement Soviet objectives better than do programs under the President's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative announced at the Geneva summit. While the Soviets are most interested in advanced research exchanges of the type that IREX sponsors, Reagan has stressed the exchange of large groups of undergraduates. The Soviets have long resisted allowing their graduate students, let alone their undergraduates, to visit the United States. (The only two-way ex-

SAVINGS CERTIFICATE

1 YEAR (6 ISSUES) ONLY $18

(Save nearly 15% off the regular subscription rate)

YES! Please enter my subscription to **NUCLEAR TIMES** at the special discount rate of $18.

Name _____
(please print clearly)

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Add $5 Canada; $17 other foreign. (Please make checks payable in U.S. dollars).

☐ Payment enclosed—ADD A BONUS ISSUE ☐ Bill me later (U.S. only)
Please allow 6-8 weeks for delivery of first issue.
I am enclosing an additional tax deductible contribution of $ _____ to support NUCLEAR TIMES.

X116

NuclearTimes

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 7996 NYC, N.Y.

Postage will be paid by addressee

NUCLEAR TIMES
P.O. Box 39996
Washington, D.C. 20077-5095

change of undergraduates is taking place in a program linking the State University of New York and the Maurice Thorez Institute of Foreign Languages.)

Much of the scrutiny of scientific and educational programs has taken place on the level of information exchanged and quantity of joint research published. But discussions with participants suggest that some of the interaction holds the potential for more long-term benefits. Nick Robinson, a law professor at Pace University, reports that the "environmental summits" which take place between members of the Environmental Protection Agency and the Soviet Academy of Sciences have helped lead to the development of air pollution laws in the Soviet Union that now parallel the Clean Air Act in this country. "The similarity of the laws will make it easier to negotiate and implement international air pollution regulations one day," Robinson says.

Two major programs involve United States and Soviet scientists in arms control discussions. When NAS suspended its regular bilateral scientific meetings in 1980, the Academy formed the Committee on International Security and Arms Control. About 10 Americans, primarily scientists directing leading university programs and research institutes, meet twice a year with high-ranking scientists from the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The two sides discuss emerging military technology, and offer their views of arms control controversies.

Since 1983, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences has been holding bilateral meetings with members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences on the issue of space weapons. The group is looking at both the Soviet ballistic missile defense program and the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, and exploring ways to place restrictions on research and development so as not to jeopardize the ABM Treaty.

A dramatic example of science diplomacy is the recent agreement between the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Soviet Academy of Sciences to install equipment to monitor nuclear tests in each others' countries. This arrangement originated with a series of meetings between Frank von Hippel, former director of the Federation of American Scientists and currently professor at Princeton University, and Yevgeni Velikhov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Now von Hippel, along with NRDC scientist Thomas Cochran, is meeting with leaders of the Soviet nuclear energy program to study how to undertake and verify a cutoff in the production of fissionable nuclear weapons material. "I developed a good relationship over the years with the Soviet scientists," says von Hippel, "which paid off." □

The Source

Millions of people are working to prevent nuclear war. People from all walks of life, from organizations of all kinds and from all over the country. They have different ideas and different areas of expertise, but preventing nuclear war is a goal that unifies them.

One source brings them together—*NUCLEAR TIMES*.

In *NUCLEAR TIMES* you'll read about grassroots actions against nuclear testing in Nevada, as well as about scientists who refuse to work on "Star Wars." *NUCLEAR TIMES* brings you research and strategies from leading scholars, as well as local organizing ideas and resources.

At *NUCLEAR TIMES* we recognize the importance of the broad range of people, ideas and organizations working to stop the nuclear arms race—from arms control lobbyists on Capitol Hill, to a young girl's petition for a nuclear weapons freeze.

NUCLEAR TIMES brings you regular reports from professional organizations and citizens' groups. We provide a means of communication and a forum for opposing opinions. *NUCLEAR TIMES* gives you hard facts and critical analysis, ideas that work and hope for progress.

No other magazine pulls it all together in one place.

NuclearTimes

THE SOURCE for information, opinion and vision on ending the nuclear arms race.
Subscribe Now!

Send $18 for Six Bimonthly Issues to:
Nuclear Times, P.O. Box 39996, Washington, D.C. 20077-5095

Name_____

Address_____

City, State, Zip_____

HAS6

OASES

Organization for American Soviet Exchanges

is a non-governmental, non-profit organization which promotes unofficial professional, educational, and cultural exchanges on a mutual basis between the peoples of the USA and the USSR.

OASES SPECIALIZES IN:

—PUBLIC EDUCATION
—COORDINATING JOINT US-USSR PROJECTS
—HOSTING SOVIETS
—TRAVEL TO THE USSR
—INTERPRETING-TRANSLATION

INTERPRETING EQUIPMENT AVAILABLE

OASES
1302 R Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 332-1145

151 Coolidge Ave, Suite 609
Watertown, MA 02172
(617) 924-0713

PEACE
EDUCATION
RESOURCES

16mm films
videotapes
slideshows
books
posters

Low-cost rentals and purchase for churches, peace groups, schools and individuals on:
Nuclear War
Arms Race
Atomic Bombings
Nonviolence
Peace Education

Send for **FREE CATALOG:**
Wilmington College Peace Resource Center
Hiroshima/Nagasaki Memorial Collection
Pyle Center Box 1183
Wilmington, OH 45177
(513) 382-5338

Research Aids

ARTICLES

No-First-Use Unknowables, by Peter J. Liberman & Neil R. Thomason (*Foreign Policy,* Fall 1986). The no-first-use debate inevitably leads to analytical dead ends, argue the authors after a careful look at the presumptions, pro and con. Since it can't be proven whether a no-first-use policy or the status quo would best deter a Soviet conventional or nuclear attack (or unify the NATO alliance) we should stay with the present policy, they argue, and focus instead on more clear-cut policy questions.

Farewell to Arms Control?: by Joseph S. Nye Jr. (*Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1986). Nye's interrogative title is less a prediction than a caution for arms control in the 1990s. After itemizing the pros and cons of proposals for deep reductions in nuclear weapons, Nye concludes that although the best reasons against reductions are strategic and technological, the best reasons for them are political, including the prospect that reductions could improve U.S.-Soviet relations and reverse "the sense of momentum that worries the public." But the high expectations raised by deep reduction proposals combined with Reagan's failure to negotiate an agreement may leave a difficult political legacy for the next president, whether Democrat or Republican.

The Democrats and a New Grand Strategy, by Sherle R. Schwenninger and Jerry W. Sanders (*World Policy Journal*, Summer 1986). The Democrats need to leave the "geostrategic era," which is concerned with tired arguments over the size of the superpowers' military arsenals and enter the "geoeconomic era," which recognizes that national and common security depend upon a thriving world economy. In this important essay the authors argue that if the Democrats make economic readjustments their highest priority through reducing military spending, augmenting productive investment, and expanding global markets, foreign policy goals will follow naturally.

REPORTS

Star Wars PACs: Defending America or Industry? by Rosy Nimroody with Scott London (Free, from the Council on Economic Priorities (CEP), 30 Irving Pl, New York, NY 10003.) CEP's analysis of Federal Election Commission data indicates that the leading SDI contractors have already contributed about $6 million to candidates running for federal office in the past three years. The report looks briefly at the relation between PAC money recipients—who often chair military-related congressional committees—and SDI votes. It concludes that the SDI PACS are nonpartisan in their generosity.

BOOKS

The Medical Implications of Nuclear War, by the Institute of Medicine and the National Academy of Sciences ($33.50 from the National Academy Press, 619 pp.) Perhaps the definitive text on the consequences of nuclear war on human life and the environment. Written by leading scientists and physicians, the book presents recent studies of casualty rates and the inevitable damage to economic and agricultural systems. The volume also presents a psychosocial perspective of the arms race, and analyses of recent surveys of adult beliefs regarding nuclear war.

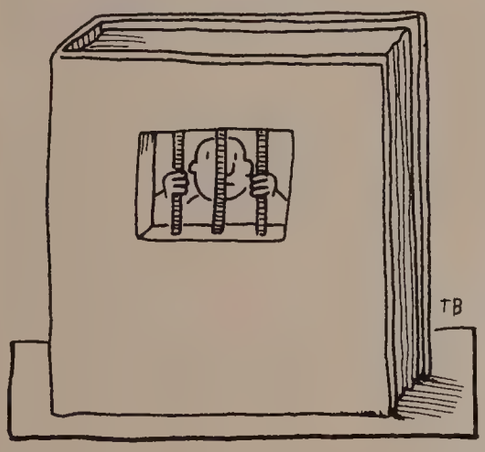
World Armaments and Disarmaments: SIPRI Yearbook 1986 by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute ($55 from the Oxford University Press, 611 pp.) As in past years, the SIPRI yearbook charts the progress—or lack of—made toward limiting militarization. The 1986 *Yearbook* features special sections on the comprehensive test ban, the work of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, the Chinese nuclear weapons program, and new military technology, including a study of advanced computing and emerging conventional military technology. In addition, the *Yearbook* introduces an expanded section on public opinion of military issues, and a new study of economic issues related to SDI research in Europe and Japan.

Beyond the Hotline: How Crisis Control Can Prevent Nuclear War, by William L. Ury ($5.95 from Penguin Books, 187 pp.) Available for the first time in paperback, this book outlines in general terms Ury's plan for a crisis control center to be based in both Washington and Moscow linked by instant teleconferencing to monitor and defuse potential dangers around the world.

The Parable of the Tribes: The Problem of Power in Social Evolution, by Andrew Bard Schmookler ($9.95 from Houghton Mifflin Company, 400 pp.) Civilization's ills, such as the threat of nuclear holocaust, are the product of human circumstances rather than of our essential nature, relates Schmookler in a remarkable treatise (now available in paperback) on the paradoxical relation between violence and the development of human society. Using the methods of psychology, sociology, theology and history to provide an angle for viewing human nature, the author concludes that despite the record of history and prehistory, we have the potential to choose the future we want rather than no future at all. □

THE OTHER SIDE

In July 1962 the Soviet writer Vasily Grossman was summoned to the Kremlin to meet the Marxist theoretician and Politburo member Mikhail Suslov. Grossman had written a huge novel, *Life and Fate*, about the Battle of Stalingrad, the turning point of the Second World War and a celebrated event in official Soviet histories of the Great Patriotic War. Every copy of the manuscript had been confiscated by the KGB in February 1961 after Grossman submitted it to the editors of *Znamya*, a Soviet journal which had published some of his earlier work. The police even searched Grossman's home and carried off carbon paper and typewriter ribbons in order to guarantee that the book did not survive.



TOM BLOOM

Unwilling to let his life's work disappear, Grossman wrote the Politburo to protest the seizure and officially request the manuscript's return. Suslov called in Grossman to give him the Politburo's answer. He ridiculed scenes set in Soviet prison camps—they were all based on hearsay; nobody could take them seriously. More important, the novel was too political. *Life and Fate*, Suslov said, could not be published for 200 years.

The apparent destruction of Grossman's novel sent a chill through Russian literary circles. In September 1965 Solzhenitsyn insisted that the editor of *Novy Mir* return all copies of his novel *The First Circle* for fear the same thing would happen to his own book. After *Life and Fate*, Grossman was more or less banished to obscurity, and he died of cancer in September 1964, convinced his finest book was lost forever. Not long before he died he told one of his few remaining friends, "They strangled me in a doorway."

But *Life and Fate* somehow survived. In the late 1970s an almost complete copy of the manuscript was obtained by the dissident writer Vladimir Voinovich, smuggled to the West, and published (in Russian) in Switzerland in 1980. An English translation by Robert Chandler (Harper & Row, 871 pp., $22.50) appeared in the United States last spring.

Life and Fate, as we have it—the missing portions appear to be minor—is unmistakably a great novel purely as literature, but it is also a brilliant portrait of Soviet Russia. Perhaps no great nation has ever been so difficult to understand as Soviet Russia—the Russian part is so huge, and the Soviet part so small, as if a continent had somehow passed into the hands of a municipal government. There seems to be no limit to the power of the central government; it can decide literally anything, from the number of priests ordained by the Russian Orthodox Church, to the number of newsstands in Georgia. This power ultimately resides in the hands of a tiny group of men who keep their personal histories, their rivalries, and their thinking to themselves. It's hard enough to understand a place where the fates of so many are determined by so few, but when you add the figure of Stalin—himself the central fact of Soviet Russian history—then the reality slips out of grasp. You can talk about Russia, or you can talk about power in the Kremlin, but what can you say about the two together—the Soviet Russia which is somehow both?

In *Life and Fate* Vasily Grossman has managed to do it. His canvas is huge—the millions in battle at Stalingrad, the prison camps run by Germans and Soviets alike, the scientific institutes trying to follow Moscow's line, the homes of ordinary citizens and members of the governing elite, and finally the innermost hearts of a huge cast of characters. Stalin inevitably plays a big role in the story Grossman tells, which explains why Moscow tried to bury his book. But *Life and Fate* is still Soviet Russia's story—the whole of it—not Stalin's. You can't understand the Soviet Union as it is without some sense of what it has been through. This is what Grossman has given to us.

Mikhail Suslov thought it would take two centuries before his country could face its own past, and accept the portrait of Soviet Russia which Grossman put into his great novel. Outsiders need not wait.

—Thomas Powers

The Future of Arms Control after the Iceland Summit

LET'S MAKE A DEAL

THE NEW ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS GAME

from

THE GROUND ZERO RESOURCE CENTER

GROUND ZERO

Price $9.95

BOX 19329 PORTLAND, OR 97219

FACES of the SOVIET UNION

1987 WALL CALENDAR

A Celebration of Daily Life

BEAUTIFUL - Full-color photos that capture the richness and diversity of the 'human side' of life.
INFORMATIVE - Engaging articles by experienced authors on: The Farmer's Market, Schools, Religion, The War Memorial, Babushkas and more.
USEFUL - Plenty of space for notes and appointments 32 pp. 10"x13".

Makes a Great Gift or Fundraiser!
$9.95 each

To order send $10.70 per copy (includes tax & shipping) or $38.00 for 5 to:

REFLECTION PUBLISHING
PO Box 309 Ithaca, NY 14851-0309
607-277-5052

Bulk prices and brochure available upon request.

Americans Invade Soviet Union

The roots of Track Two diplomacy are spreading

BY RENATA RIZZO-HARVI

The Russians are coming? More like the Americans are *going*. In increasing numbers citizen diplomats are packing their suitcases and taking off to see the Soviet Union for themselves. In the process they're discovering crowded churches (always a shock), a people obsessed with ice cream, and, yes, long lines, but not for bread. "I saw people waiting for crazy things like one rose wrapped in wax paper—they'd walk off embracing it like a baby," says Malvine Cole, a writer who visited the Soviet Union last spring.

Travellers also discover a rich culture characterized by tight-knit families, gracious hospitality and people eager to befriend Americans. "When I was over there, I met ordinary people and had human exchanges, and it was like rain on dry soil—absolutely refreshing," says Glenn Allen Scott, a newspaper editor from Virginia.

But tempering such warm memories are doubts and mixed feelings raised by witnessing the nearly across-the-board acceptance by the Soviet people of their government's policies. Scott recalls that spontaneous applause from his planeload of fellow visitors broke out as they left the Soviet Union behind. "Spirits had been dampened," he says, "by the air of repression." Others recall visiting dissident activists whose phone and mail service have been cut off, and who have been reduced to writing on "magic pads" to thwart the electronic bugs believed planted on the premises.

But the majority of citizen diplomats come home eager to share what they've seen, both the bitter and the sweet, with friends and neighbors. Many circulate in their communities, slide shows in hand. Some, like Marjorie Ramp, who visited the Soviet Union three years ago, try to make an impact with national repercussions: She waged a successful campaign to remove commercials for Wendy's hamburgers—depicting offensive stereotypes of Soviet women—from America's airwaves.

Although the American peace movement is paying more attention to U.S.-Soviet relations, grass-roots citizen diplomats are not always, or even usually, peace activists. And, contrary to popular belief, citizen diplomats are not necessarily starry-eyed naïfs who just can't get over the fact that Russians are people *just like them*. In fact, many grass-roots efforts in this area are becoming increasingly sophisticated. "People are bothering to educate themselves now about the Soviet Union before they get involved," says Nancy Graham, executive director of the Institute for Soviet-American Relations in Washington, D.C. "And they're learning more about their own country before they go." The Soviets' superior knowledge of U.S. history and government policy has often caught embarrassed Americans by surprise.

Americans pose with wedding party in Leningrad

COURTESY OF SHARON TENNISON

A LONG COMMUTE

Sharon Tennison is a good example of the new breed of citizen diplomat. The 50-year-old nurse, who now works full-time on Soviet-American relations, has been to the Soviet Union 14 times in the last three years. "I'm commuting," she jokes from her home in San Francisco.

Tennison's network, the Center for US-USSR Initiatives, is primarily comprised of mainstream professionals—city planners, bankers, hospital workers—who lead trips to the Soviet Union and then lecture about them. The Center has taken several thousand people from 22 states to the Soviet Union, and, thanks in part to Tennison's even-handed approach to her work, has become so well-trusted that the State Department refers would-be citizen diplomats to it. The trust apparently flows from both sides. In October, when a group of Soviets came to the United States as part of the first exchange between official groups in the Soviet Union and the Center, Tennison received permission for two of her Soviet friends to join the delegation, an assignment usually reserved for Soviets of an official stripe.

While Tennison praises much of what she sees in the Soviet Union—the generosity and kindness of the Soviet people, the education lavished on children, the conspicuous absence of violence—she is candid in discussing the disturbing elements of Soviet society. These include emigration policies, the poor standard of living, and the notion of a self-monitoring society where close friends can be informants.

The response to Tennison's speeches back home is generally positive, she says, but skeptics are not uncommon. Tennison is perhaps best-known for her ability to show people the "real" Soviet Union: life in the parks, on the streets, in churches and private apartments. Some fellow "diplomats" question her assertion that she was able to move freely about the country, claiming that *they* were followed "every step of the way." These are commonly people, Tennison says, who were intimidated by their Intourist guides and so stayed on their tour busses for the duration of their stay.

The major question from those who haven't visited the Soviet Union is: Aren't you just being duped by the Russians? "Since we make it a point to show such a broad scope of life there, including Jewish refusniks," Tennison explains, "people are curious rather than hostile at the end.

"I'm not trying to convince people about a particular way of looking at things," she adds. "I can only tell people what my experience has been, and then strongly urge them to go and see for themselves."

SISTERS UNDER THE SKIN

At the present time, the Soviet Union is

allergic to cultural exchanges that are not stamped "official," which can be frustrating to the more informal, ad hoc Americans. In a real sense, the very notion of *citizen* diplomacy is alien to the Soviet system. Nowhere has this fundamental schism created more mayhem than in the world of Sister Cities.

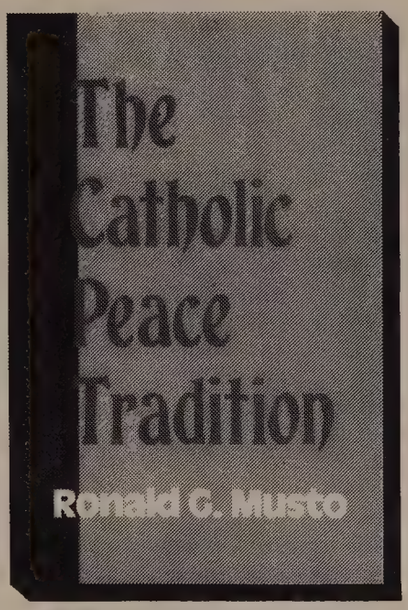
The Sister City program began 30 years ago under President Eisenhower, but it wasn't until 1973 that five U.S.-Soviet Sister City relationships were launched. Most of them languished throughout the '70s, with the notable exception of the very active Seattle-Tashkent program. But in the early '80s, after President Reagan's anti-Soviet rhetoric began to horrify Americans and Soviets alike, hundreds of cities across the country rushed to adopt Soviet counterparts, most of them under the auspices of the Ground Zero Pairing Project, which recently relinquished its work in this area.

"There was this groundswell of interest," says Rosanne Royer, who runs the Seattle-Tashkent program, and is married to Seattle's mayor. "People went crazy and tried to make their own hook-ups without going through official channels. It was a nightmarish thing for the Soviet Union, apparently, to have all these Americans clamoring to adopt them."

Unfortunately, relations between the superpowers were so strained in the early '80s that starting a new Sister City through official channels was virtually impossible. But one program did manage to get off the ground without going through Sister Cities International, the official American bureaucracy. A friendship is now flourishing between Gainesville, Florida, and Novorossiisk, USSR, largely because of the union of Steven Kalishman, a lawyer, and Natasha Andrukowskaya, a native of Novorossiisk, who were married in the Soviet Union in 1976 and settled in Gainesville shortly thereafter. They now publish a nationwide newsletter called *The Citizen Diplomat* to help link Sister City efforts across the country.

"We saw that non-official link-ups had failed, and official programs were stalled," says Steven Kalishman. "So we walked a tightrope—doing the legwork ourselves but sending the paperwork to officials in D.C. and Moscow. It's really been an experiment for both countries."

The Kalishmans and, more recently, the Citizen's Exchange Council in New York City, have since helped other U.S. cities (such as Salem, Oregon, Tallahassee, Florida, and Boulder, Colorado) successfully walk this delicate line. And recently, Sister Cities International signed an agreement with Moscow to formally accept these cities, and six others, as official pairings.



THE CATHOLIC PEACE TRADITION
by RONALD G. MUSTO

"The comprehensive sweep of Musto's survey of Church teachings and practice with respect to war and peace makes it a valuable resource for meeting the charge of the 1983 U.S. bishops' peace pastoral to 'teach the ways of peace.'"
—GORDON ZAHN

"Musto's book is not only spiritually nourishing; it is also an absolutely indispensable source of background—and hope—for the Catholic peacemaker."
—EILEEN EGAN, *Catholic Worker* $21.95 pbk

THE POLITICS OF COMPASSION
A Biblical Perspective on Hunger, The Arms Race, and U.S. Policy in Central America
by JACK NELSON-PALLMEYER

"An excellent introduction in simple language to one of the most critical contemporary problems."—GARY MacEOIN $8.95 pbk

PARENTING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE
by KATHLEEN and JAMES McGINNIS

"The guide is filled with exercises, readings, and worksheets to supplement the reading of the book and makes its contents all the more real. . . indispensable for educators and families alike."
—*Religious Education* $6.95 pbk

JUSTICE AND PEACE EDUCATION
Models for College and University Faculty
Edited by DAVID M. JOHNSON

". . . a standard resource for all who seek to introduce peace studies into higher education."—BETTY REARDON, Teachers College, Columbia University $16.95 pbk

At bookstores or from the publisher

ORBIS BOOKS, Dept. NT6, Maryknoll, NY 10545

Please send

_____ **The Catholic Peace Tradition, $21.95**
_____ **The Politics of Compassion, $8.95**
_____ **Parenting for Peace and Justice, $6.95**
_____ **Justice and Peace Education, $16.95**

☐ Payment enclosed (add $1.50 for shipping)
Charge my ☐ MC ☐ VISA
Account No. _____ Exp. date _____
Signature _____
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

BACK-DOOR DETENTE

In the same way that Soviets appreciate officially sanctioned projects, they feel more comfortable with citizen diplomacy efforts that involve the exchange of professionals, or any group that can at least be labeled: doctors, teachers, artists, even alcoholics (recently brought over by Tennison). When Barbara Wiedner, executive director of Grandmothers for Peace, led a tour of the Soviet Union, her group was mobbed with press attention and treated like visiting royalty.

Grandmothers, or *babushkas,* occupy a central place in the Soviet psyche. Full-time peace activists, on the other hand, do not, since in the Soviet view simply being a good socialist constitutes an abiding commitment to peace.

"If you go to the Soviet Union in the name of peace, you'll get rhetoric," warns ISAR's Nancy Graham. "If you go through a profession, you'll have a more fruitful exchange."

Still, in recent years, some grass-roots activists have worked to create links not with the official Soviet Peace Committee but with "independent" activists in the Soviet Union who criticize the nuclear policies of both superpowers.

As part of this effort, Bob McGlynn and Ann-Marie Hendrickson, two New York City peace activists, recently engaged in a unique form of citizen diplomacy: they took part in a "leafletting mission" in Moscow's Gorky Park, handing out literature on radiation hazards. (Independent Soviet activists, members of what is called the Moscow Trust Group, had lamented the lack of safety information supplied by official sources after Chernobyl.) The leafletters, who wore huge bilingual signs proclaiming "Peace and environmental safety for all. No more Hiroshimas, no more Chernobyls," were nabbed by police after five or 10 minutes, and were held for about an hour.

In the same way many Americans view South Africa, McGlynn believes that any recognition of the Soviet government is morally questionable. He feels that "it's an act of collaboration for Americans to shake hands with officials who are oppressing peace activists."

But the majority of those active in grass-roots citizen diplomacy avoid linking their work with human rights issues. Some point out that dissidents comprise a tiny percentage of the Soviet population, and that focusing on them is as skewed as the Soviet Union dwelling on such American dissenters as Angela Davis. Others feel it is improper or impolite to challenge their Soviet hosts on internal Soviet issues. Many believe that rocking the boat would actually have a negative effect, causing the Soviet Union to slam doors to the West shut.

By maintaining official relations, Americans can also share their ideas of freedom with their Soviet peers. Francis Boyle, a member of the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, recently went to the Soviet Union to lecture about international law and nuclear weapons. Soviet lawyers were surprised to learn that American antinuclear activists have been acquitted for acts of civil disobedience—something that could not happen in the Soviet Union.

The issue of "linkage" is so sensitive that some activists refuse to comment on it—on or off the record. The controversy surrounding the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War—Evgueni Chazov, the group's Soviet co-president, had signed a statement denouncing physicist Andrei Sakharov—shed some light on why. For while anti-

When Americans say "freedom," Soviets say "freedom to die in the streets"

nuclear groups share an emphasis on ending the arms race, "when it comes to the Soviet Union, the feelings span from friendly to adversarial to real enmity," says Raoul Rosenberg, press secretary of Representative Ed Markey. "All three camps can wear the antinuclear label."

Rosenberg, who was on staff at PSR when IPPNW won the Nobel Prize, says that some activists were tremendously bothered by the revelation about Chazov, the press reaction to it and PSR's belated response. Others were more sanguine.

"I don't think that antinuclear groups should become organizations that work on human rights, but we must state clearly that we do not tolerate human rights violations in the Soviet Union," Rosenberg says.

Sandy Gottlieb, a senior analyst at the Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C., who has written and spoken widely on U.S.-Soviet issues, believes that Soviets don't respect Americans who just tell them what they want to hear. "In addition to learning about the Soviets, we have to try and help them understand why Americans respond so strongly to things like human rights violations," Gottlieb says. "The movement is still afraid of giving ammunition to the Right, but if we're silent on these issues, it will just make matters worse."

The facts are being faced, and tough questions raised, by some religiously-oriented peace groups, like the United Church of Christ's peace program and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). Both organizations work successfully with official peace groups *and* dissident activists in East bloc countries.

"We can't impose our system on theirs, but we can be critical," says Richard Deats, who heads FOR's US-USSR Reconciliation Program. "If they talk about crime, we should talk about dissidents. When people ask questions that are genuine—not hostile—it forces a genuine, if tense, dialogue."

FOCUS ON EDUCATION

Citizen diplomats repeatedly refer to the daunting cultural gaps between the superpowers. Americans say "freedom," and Soviets say "freedom to die in the streets at the hands of a starving drug addict." Increasingly, the movement's grass roots are confronting this chasm between individualist and collectivist perspectives through rigorous educational efforts.

Educators for Social Responsibility, for example, never intended to focus on the question of U.S.-Soviet relations when it was founded in 1981. But this year the group's priority is its Soviet Education Project, which will introduce students across the country to Soviet studies and will bring Soviet educators to the United States. The curriculum will not present a simple history lesson; it's designed to question the sources of information that people rely on when forming their opinions about the Soviet Union.

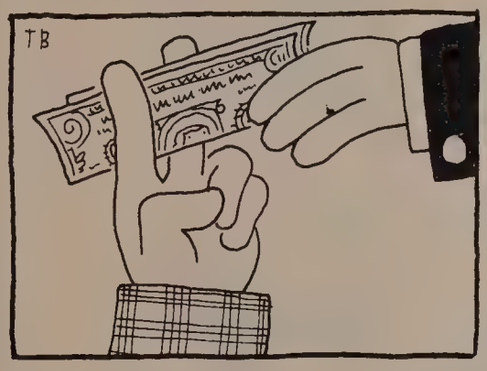
"We don't think that the conflict between our different definitions of freedom and rights will ever disappear completely," says ESR's executive director, Susan Alexander. "But getting to know more about them helps us to think of how we can manage these conflicts without going to war."

More education is also the key to better citizen diplomats—people who are informed and perceptive, not hostile or gullible. In the end, most citizen diplomats are working on faith, convinced that they must do something about superpower relations, and opting for one of the few routes open to them. They are not arrogant enough to believe that their work will directly turn around American policies. And their effect on the Soviet government is equally questionable. But they are genuinely convinced that the will of the people matters. And they're hoping that continued human interactions, like rain on dry soil, will nurture the seeds of amity now being planted in both countries. □

IDEAS THAT WORK

It takes money to be a citizen diplomat, and most of the activists I know are not rich. How can the average slave for peace scrape the capital together for an Aeroflot reservation? One successful fundraising plan—elements of which can be used by a wide range of organizations—comes from Paul Van DeCarr, student co-director of STOP Nuclear War in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Van DeCarr's scheme is based on frankly addressing the question in every prospective donor's mind: What's In It For Me?

After setting a specific cash goal ($3500), Van DeCarr's group of four students and one teacher targeted their most likely patrons: local businesses (good p.r.); churches (interest in the Soviet record on human rights and religious freedom); school teachers and administrators (the trip had educational appeal); and relatives and neighbors (hard to say no).



TOM BLOOM

"Neighbors proved to be our most lucrative source," Van DeCarr writes. Some especially successful elements of his door-to-door pitch included:

- Telling them that he had a deadline "to avoid letting them get away with an 'I'll think about it' response."
- Asking for a specific amount of money ($20) "to set a standard." The would-be citizen diplomats told donors that in exchange for their contribution "we would invite them to a slide show and discussion about our trip when we returned."

Canvassing all the town's teachers and administrators was impossible, Van DeCarr writes, so they were contacted through the mail, a tactic which resulted in a thinner cash flow. Still, Van DeCarr notes, "taking an approach that we thought would appeal to teachers helped: 'in exchange for your support of our *educational, fact-finding* trip to the USSR, we will make presentations to your students about our trip upon returning.'"

As for students, Van DeCarr writes, getting small amounts of money from lots of them seemed logical. "A raffle was our best idea," he continues. "Raffles rarely, though, raise the money that fundraisers hope they will, so we asked for a donation of prizes from local businesses as second through fifth prizes, and offered $200 cash as first prize. We would almost surely sell more than 200 tickets at $1 each. We did."

In order to get local businesses to donate gift certificates for the raffle, Van DeCarr's group managed to persuade Governor Michael Dukakis to pick the winning raffle tickets. "The Governor has a portion of his morning scheduled for things like this—he does up to 20 photography sessions in one hour," Van DeCarr notes. With the Governor's participation, press coverage of the event was guaranteed, as was free publicity for supportive merchants.

Within three weeks, the group had raised 15 percent over their initial $3500 goal. Van DeCarr reports that the trip to the Soviet Union, and the promised talks he gave to his "sponsors," were a success. For more details, or if you'd like to go to the USSR with a STOP group (the trips are open to anyone), contact: STOP Nuclear War, 11 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 492-8305.

* * *

We're still a long way from a comprehensive test ban, so it's critical to keep public—and media—interest in the issue alive. One idea circulating among Freeze groups is cheap, easy to do, and great media fodder.

Bob Stein, director of the Maine Freeze Campaign in Portland, ran a particularly successful version of the plan. "We sent out a press release saying that we were going to conduct nuclear tests in Monument Square," Stein says. All three area television stations, the major daily paper and several radio stations turned out to observe a dozen freeze activists with white coats and clipboards administering nuclear "tests" (true-false questions on the testing issue) to lunching Mainiacs. The results (80 to 85 percent were for a congressional ban on testing) were sent to Congress, along with prepared letters in support of a CTB. For details on test questions, contact Stein at PO Box 38423, Portland, ME 04104 (207) 772-0680.

—Renata Rizzo-Harvi

PEACE

There are many ways to work for Peace on this planet. One way is to become a

CITIZEN DIPLOMAT and join a Peace Mission TO THE USSR.

Talk to Soviet Citizens about how we can work together to rid the world of the threat of war.

CONTINUING
THE PEACE DIALOGUE
Invites You
to JOIN US for one of our
DIALOGUE 1987 TRIPS
March — May — August

CONTINUING THE PEACE DIALOGUE is a grassroots diplomacy network dedicated to building bridges of friendship, trust and communication between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States through its people-to-people travel program begun in 1982.

For information
write or call:
P.O. Box 1710
Carmel Valley,
California 93924
(408) 659-3758

WE CAN DO IT!
A peace book for kids of all ages

Empowers children and shows them that we can have personal, national and global peace
• 36 pages, full colour

I LOVE NOT SMOKING!

Wouldn't it be nice if all kids grew up to say "I love not smoking!"
• Positive approach
• 24 pages, 2-8 years

A Fable for Vegetarian Children

• Beautifully told
• Delightfully illustrated
• Light, non-moralistic
• 44 pages, 2-8 years
• Great gift or stocking stuffer

$3.00 EACH, POST PAID

Namchi United Enterprises, P.O. Box 33852-N
Station D, Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6J 4L6

Resources

BY ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

SPECIAL MENTION

Amerika: A Packet for Activists, from the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). *Amerika* is the 12-hour ABC-TV mini-series on the Soviet occupation and destruction of the United States that is expected to air in February. The AFSC's National Disarmament Program has assembled (and will continue to update) a useful package of material which summarizes the program and its history, and includes a bibliography of study guides, films and slides on the Soviet Union and superpower relations. It also contains suggestions for local actions timed to coordinate with the mini-series' airing. ($7 per packet; discounts for orders of 10 or more, from National Disarmament Program, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 215-241-7171.)

NEWSLETTERS

TV Access for Peace. Brought to you by the Educational Film and Video Project (EFVP), the producers of such award-winning films as *The Last Epidemic* and *In the Nuclear Shadow*, this newsletter is a new organizing resource to help the peace movement make maximum use of local television. It contains news and tips from groups across the country that are successfully using cable, commercial and public television in antinuclear organizing. Many of these groups work primarily with EFVP's "Solutions for Survival" series, which includes eight broadcast-quality tapes of superior antinuclear programming. (The series, along with a guide on how to place it on local television, is available from EFVP for $35.) Editor Steven Ladd is interested in hearing from people who are using television in their communities for possible inclusion in the next edition of the newsletter. (Free, from EFVP, 1529 Josephine St., Berkeley, CA 94703 415-849-3163.)

NUCLEAR TESTING

Under the Cloud: The Decades of Nuclear Testing, by Richard L. Miller. This engaging history of above-ground testing by the nuclear powers before the Limited Test Ban Treaty was signed in 1963 describes the path of nuclear fallout from every explosion. Some traveled great distances, affecting many people in addition to the downwind residents of Utah and Nevada. Appendices include useful explanations of radiation measurements, and fallout levels in selected U.S. cities from two particularly "dirty" shots. (Free Press hardcover, $24.95.)

Testing News: This newsletter of the Downwinders, an organization of residents downwind of the test site in Nevada, is published every four to six weeks to report on worldwide nuclear testing and grass-roots protests. The newsletter includes features like "Testing Roll Call," a tally of the number of tests by all nuclear powers in the last year, and "Lab Watch," an update on DOE lab activities involving nuclear testing. (Annual subscription $15, $25 for both newsletter and special reports issued four times a year from Downwinders, Inc., 966 East Wilson Ave., Salt Lake City, UT 84105 801-467-8215.)

STAR WARS

Briefing Book on the ABM Treaty and Related Issues, from the National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty. The Campaign, a coalition of organizations, former government officials and prominent scientists, is probably the best source of up-to-date information on the Treaty and the threat posed to it by Star Wars research. Fact sheets cover the Treaty's

NOBODY WANTS A NUCLEAR WAR

A reassuring new book for children, ages 6-10, by Judith Vigna.

"The clear strong message here is that hope exists. The subtle message is that we parents need to continually check the feelings and fears of our youngsters."
L.A. Times, The Book Review

To order, send $10.75 per book to:
Albert Whitman & Company
5747 West Howard Street
Niles, Illinois 60648
(312) 647-1355

The film PBS was afraid to show...
now presented by the
Better World Society

...uncensored

Dark Circle

★★★★ *"completely riveting"*
—Roger Ebert

National Television Premiere on SuperStation WTBS

Monday, December 8th, 10 p.m. EST, 7 p.m. PST
Sunday, December 21st, 5 p.m. EST, 2 p.m. PST

Better World Society 1140 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 331-3770

text and substance, and its relevance to SDI and antisatellite weapons. (Fact sheets, $5.50; with 3-ring binder, $8.50, plus 15 percent postage, from the National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Ste. 704, Washington, DC 20009 202-939-5770.)

Star Wars Quotes, compiled by the Arms Control Association. This collection of statements from Reagan Administration officials, experts, members of Congress, U.S. allies, and Soviet officials actually comprises a history of SDI. The quotes cover the program's goals, prospects and morality, criteria for deployment, effects on the ABM Treaty, and consequences for arms control. ($3, from the Arms Control Association, 11 Dupont Circle NW, Washington, DC 20036 202-797-6450.)

BOOKLETS

Socially Responsible Buyers Guide: How to Keep Nuclear Weapons Out of Your Daily Life. This 50-page booklet lists consumer products and services offered by the top 30 nuclear weapons contractors, and alternative products made by non-military companies. This is part of the Covenant for a World Free of Nuclear Weapons, cosponsored by 20 Michigan groups who invite pledgers not to invest in or buy products from producers of nuclear weapons components, to shift investments and purchases to socially responsible companies, and to write the President explaining why. Complete kit has the Buyer's Guide, directory of the 30 companies, sample letters, and names of socially responsible investment funds. ($5 for complete kit, $3 for Buyer's Guide alone, payable to Covenant Fund. Write to Don Pelz, 2406 Geddes Ave., Ann Arbor, MI 43104.)

FILMS

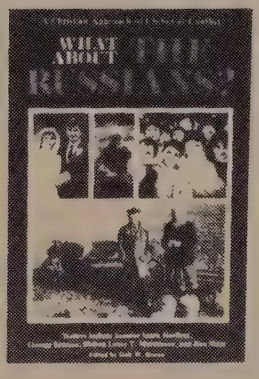
The False Frontier, 35 minutes, produced by the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS). This short film, densely-packed with arguments against SDI, says that "Americans love a challenge," but that this spirit has been misdirected in the Star Wars program. It explains the flaws in the original concept of a shield against enemy missiles, and the refined concept of "enhanced deterrence"—the idea that we should use SDI to protect our own missiles, not people. ($15, available in 3/4 VHS and Beta, from UCS, Publication Dep't NT, 26 Church St., Cambridge, MA 02238 617-547-5552.)

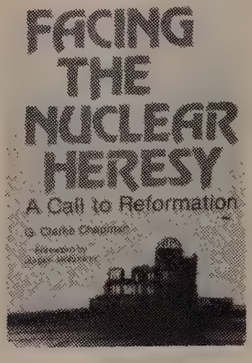
Hellfire: A Journey from Hiroshima, 58 minutes, a film on the lives and art of

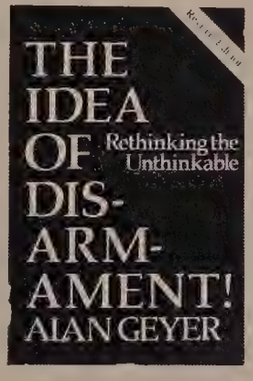
The Marukis at work

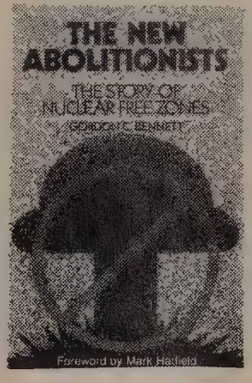
Iri and Toshi Maruki, produced by John Junkerman and John Dower. This is a portrait of an elderly couple, Japanese artists and pacifists who went to Hiroshima immediately after the bomb fell to assist victims. Today they enjoy a remarkable collaboration painting famous murals of what they witnessed. They have also made a point of painting Auschwitz and instances of Japanese aggression towards the Chinese, and towards American prisoners of war after Hiroshima. ($100, 16mm rental, from First Run Features, 153 Waverly Pl., New York, NY 10014 212-243-0600.) □

For those concerned about Soviet-American relations—Nuclear Arms—and Disarmament









What About the Russians?
Edited by Dale W. Brown

What are the Russians really like? Are they believers or atheists? Why are we afraid of them? How should we respond to communism? These are some of the questions dealt with by experts in Russian history and culture. **$6.95.**

The Idea of Disarmament!
Alan Geyer

Review of Books and Religion says, " . . . one of the most useful books on the subject . . . wide range of sources . . . illuminating analyses of the problems raised by deterrence and by counterforce strategies . . . " **$11.95.**

Facing the Nuclear Heresy
G. Clarke Chapman, Jr.

Gives a theological analysis of "nuclearism" as a false ideology; sounds a call to the churches for renewal in facing this threat; explores a practical strategy for peacemaking with a new lifestyle. **$9.95.**

The New Abolitionists
The Story of Nuclear Free Zones
Gordon C. Bennet • Foreword by Mark Hatfield

Gives a philosophical and theological rationale for NFZs, examines the possibilities for a nuclear free world, and offers practical suggestions on how to be involved. **$9.95.**

Order from Brethren Press • 1451 Dundee Ave., Elgin, IL 60120 • Phone: 800/323-8039

INTERACTIONS
GROUP NEWS AND COMMENT

THE NEW PATRIOTISM

By the time this reaches readers' hands, a House/Senate conference committee may have forged a compromise on the FY 1987 Defense Authorization bill. Inevitably, some provisions in the extraordinary House bill will have been watered down or lost. Whatever the shape of the final bill, however, the version voted by the House in August resoundingly rejected the Reagan Administration's myopic pursuit of some technological panacea—offensive or defensive—for the problem of nuclear war.

What is important to antinuclear war activists is that this unprecedented House incursion into the once-exclusive White House bailiwick of national security came when members were only three months away from facing the voters. However firmly-held their personal views, however cogent the arguments of lobbyists, it is the mindset of their constituents that politicians respond to in an election year.

And what they discovered this year is that Americans are getting the message about the risk of nuclear war. In June, a *Washington Post* poll indicated that 61 pecent of Americans favor maintaining SALT II numerical limits on strategic weapons until new limits can be negotiated, and a Gallup Poll found that 56 percent support a comprehensive test ban.

This doesn't exactly mean people are well-informed. Two thirds of respondents to the *Post* poll, for example, admitted knowing little or nothing about the SALT agreement itself. What the polling results do mean is that *Americans no longer automatically equate more nuclear weapons with greater safety.* This change in public understanding of the pragmatics of national security in the nuclear age is profound. If it is the sole achievement of the continuous, often frustrating work of PSR and like-minded groups over the past decade, it more than justifies our efforts. And it establishes a solid base for our work as we look to 1988.

PSR's new programming for 1987 includes a small-group outreach program that gives people an overview of the nuclear war issue as the context for a specific focus on CTB, SDI, U.S.-Soviet relations, the societal costs of the arms race, civil defense, etc. The theme is empowerment—intellectual as well as political—and the responsibility of citizens in this democracy. The message is that nuclear war *can* be prevented and that the hope lies in individual Americans' commitment—one that our members will demonstrate as well as inspire through the outreach program.

We are looking to engage Americans intellectually between now and the critical 1988 elections. Our goal is to ensure 1) that the primary challenge facing this nation is the primary issue in the presidential campaign, and 2) that the candidates understand that the electorate will not accept flag-wrapped simplifications as a substitute for a comprehensive and coherent strategy for reducing the threat of nuclear war.

PSR's vision of an enlightened citizenry working for the common good through our prized democratic institutions. What could be more patriotic?

For more information, contact PSR at 1601 Connecticut Av. NW, Ste 800, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 939-5750.

PEACE LINKS

RAISE CHILDREN ON PEACE

"If you have one year, plant wheat. If you have 10 years, plant a tree. If you have a lifetime, raise a child." We don't know how long we have, but if we hope to stop the nuclear arms race and make the mindshift necessary for a future without war, we have to work at all of these at the same time.

Peace Links, which frequently responds to the concerns of mothers and others working with children, has added to its popular *How to Talk to Your Children About Nuclear War* with new materials aimed at elementary and high school youngsters. We have published *Celebrate Peace* to help teachers, school administrators and PTAs implement peace studies and conflict resolution programs in elementary schools. It contains a factsheet for children on planning a Peace Day, information on creative resources to use in peacemaking activities, and other material designed to be easy to duplicate and handy for busy teachers. The high school kit, *Reach for Peace*, gives information on starting a high school Peace Links group, and ideas for programs and projects for individuals and groups. Peace Links is also distributing the excellent *What About the Children*, published by Parents and Teachers for Social Responsibility, with our child-oriented kits.

Letters such as the following tell us how important it is to provide opportunities for children to learn about nonviolent alternatives to war, and to channel their fears of nuclear war into active participation in peacemaking: "At our school we celebrated 'Peace Week,' May 19–23. On Monday we celebrated peace with a mass. We sang songs about peace and prayed for a peaceful world. At lunch on Tuesday, we ate with 'peace buddies' from other classrooms. After lunch the entire school joined hands and exchanged balloons filled with messages of peace. Later on we played cooperative games with children of other classrooms . . . Doing all these things for peace makes us feel very good inside . . . It makes us feel very special . . . Our school has set aside a week during the next school year for our second annual 'Peace Week.' "

For further information on peace materials, contact: Peace Links, 747 8th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 544-0805.

SANE

POLLS FOR PEACE

The headline shrieked "Conservative Views Emerge in Polls of Students." And the lead for the UPI story in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* confirmed my worst early morning fears: "Most of those polled favor nuclear weapons." The students, which included class and club officers, yearbook and newspaper editors, band leaders and the like, were surveyed at the National Association of Student Councils in Oklahoma City.

Since I analyze and commission polls on military issues for SANE, I was troubled, but also puzzled by this one. Serious polling data has shown that Americans—old and young—are consistently concerned about nuclear weapons and in favor of arms control measures. Our most recent poll showed 80 percent of a scientific sampling of Americans in favor of a nuclear testing halt "at least until a Second Summit."

Then, I read further in the poll story. These young students had been asked specifically whether "nuclear weapons are necessary to protect the U.S." A resounding 40 percent said "no." Given the wording of the question, nearly half of America's brightest and best had opted for unilateral disarmament, nuclear pacifism, and the outward fringes of the peace movement.

Other parts of this well-scrubbed student leader poll were equally interesting. Ninety-one percent of those questioned believed "the government should guarantee adequate health care for all." Seventy-two percent favored gun control. And, most significantly, nearly every one—82 percent—felt the government should spend "more on social needs than on military needs."

My own observations, most recently in addressing 150 top high school seniors from around the country at the "Junior Statesman" program in Washington, D.C., confirm the liberal data buried beneath the *Inquirer* headline. Speaking in the Dirksen Senate Auditorium, I presented the peace and nuclear arms control movement's most far-reaching goals—from a comprehensive test ban on through general disarmament. Instead of snickers or boos, all 150 exploded with curiosity and questions and formed a roving seminar with me across Capitol Hill to their next appointment.

What is going on here, as Joel Rogers and Thomas Ferguson documented so well in the May issue of *The Atlantic,* is a Reagan revolution that has not penetrated the grass roots, especially in terms of military and foreign policy.

The implications for the peace movement seem clear. Extremely positive, yet diffuse, public opinion in favor of nuclear disarmament and peace calls for bold leadership, unity among arms control groups and a new, well-crafted campaign for national attention.

The ongoing discussions of unity between SANE and the Freeze take on added importance in the light of polls for peace. The American public deserves an even larger, unified, and more effective nationwide organization for peace. Only when that happens will the polling data so consistently in favor of disarmament and social justice get the headlines it deserves.

—Bob Musil

Membership in SANE is $20; contact SANE, 711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-7100.

CITIZENS AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR

TEACHERS AND PEACE

The National Education Association (NEA), the nation's largest union, with 1.8 million teachers and school personnel as members, has promoted peace and international understanding for 80 years. NEA members believe these efforts enhance their primary goals of promoting excellence in public education and representing their interests in the traditional ways of an independent union.

NEA is unusually democratic. At its annual meetings 8000 elected delegates participate in setting policies for NEA to a degree that few other organizations can match.

The initiative of NEA delegates was responsible for creating an office of Peace Programs and International Relations. "We did this in the interests of children, for whom we want to assure a peaceful future," the office's director, Jack DeMars, says. "We also want to protect the social resources that children need from being subordinated to the demands for ever greater military programs."

The structure of NEA's peace activities could be a model for other organizations. It is active in promoting peace through its national office, its state and local affiliates, in international relationships and through the recognized but informal Peace Caucus of activist members. NEA's standing committee on Peace and International Relations works with similar committees created by 35 of the state affiliates. Each sets its own agenda, such as taking part in teacher exchanges or working in peace coalitions with other groups.

National Education Association positions on peace and international issues usually come to the floor of the annual convention, called the Representative Assembly, through Peace Caucus members and members of the national and state committees. In the nuclear weapons area the NEA has called for a mutual freeze on testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons, an end to underground nuclear tests and a go-slow approach to the Star Wars missile defense program. After the organization adopts the Peace Caucus resolutions, Caucus members monitor progress in carrying out the policies. One important step in this process is lobbying on nuclear issues and the military budget accomplished by NEA's own legislative representatives.

This process inspired Terry Herndon, then the executive director of NEA, to found the coalition Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN) in 1982. He was convinced that an important way to expand the U.S. nuclear disarmament movement was to encourage mainstream organizations with many different principal purposes—professional, religious, civil rights, trade unionism—to include prevention of nuclear war on their agendas. CAN now has 60 national membership organizations as members of the coalition.

For information on how organizations might join CAN, write to Citizens Against Nuclear War, 1201 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20036.

ADPSR

Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility

UNITE FOR SURVIVAL

Let's face it, the American peace movement is not getting the job done. In the last six years not only have there been no arms control agreements, but the weapons buildup has intensified, and hard-won treaties are systematically threatened, ignored or abandoned. While the Soviets repeatedly extend their nuclear test moratorium, the U.S. Administration is finding imaginative ways to avoid commitments as it recklessly gallops ahead with unprecedented military spending. The voices of protest are easily confused and deflected by concocted rationalizations, aided by timely crises (KAL 007, Kaddafi, the contras, Daniloff, etc.), all somehow traceable to the Kremlin and reason enough to continue confronting rather than negotiating.

No wonder the American people, led by their Congress, are reeling with indecision. They are being manipulated by an awesome machine—a coalition of the old establishment, the neo-right fanatics, the familiar and by now voracious military-industrial complex and a pliable, accommodating press.

Against this Goliath stands the David of the American arms control movement. We must ask ourselves again: Is it worth plodding along with little victories here and there while the big boys—swatting flies but otherwise strong and confident—go about the real job of protecting America from the evil outside?

The answer of course is a resounding yes. The real question is: are we doing enough and are we doing it right?

One could describe the arms control movement as broad but thin and highly fragmented. Observations within our own ranks suggest that the bulk of the effort comes from only a few individuals. Others will join, pay dues, attend a meeting or two but otherwise remain inactive or fade away. Then there are the multitudes who are very sympathetic—and nothing more. Our grass roots seem to be shallow and they grow in patches. Have you ever tried to count the number of organizations in the movement? Think tanks, professionals, communities, women—each with its own, but frequently overlapping constituency, small budget, newsletter, board of directors, meetings, programs—and all competing for the limited foundation grants, donations, membership dues and charitable events. Compare these with the Machine and weep.

It is now high time that the Movement bring together its many fragments in a single new national coalition powerful enough to stand up to the Machine. Because of the great urgency, this goal must be achieved with a minimum of organizational haggling and ideological debate. While retaining its identity, each participating group must yield to the effectiveness of unity and single purpose and set aside divisive idiosyncracies.

This coalition, able to boast hundreds of participating groups and millions of adherents, would quickly raise substantial funds. Its new-found power would snap Congress to attention. CBS and *The New York Times* would look on the movement with new respect, and be eager to give it coverage. Above all the coalition would once again galvanize the people. The 1982 Freeze Campaign is a precedent, but we can do better and sustain the effort. The message is simple: We want the posturing to stop and arms control agreements to start—NOW. Let us unite for survival.

Contact ADPSR at 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-3756.

EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILTY

NEW DIRECTOR CHALLENGES CENTER

The National Board of Directors of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) is pleased to announce that Susan Alexander, acting director since May 1986, has been appointed executive director.

The knowledge and experience she garnered during four years as associate director of ESR, and 17 years of teaching experience, will assist her in guiding ESR's efforts to educate people about controversial issues.

A keystone of those endeavors, teaching the ability to fully consider a point of view other than one's own, is something Ms. Alexander has long practiced. "Even when I was teaching," she said in a recent interview, "I was less interested in inspiring students who already thought like I did and more interested in complicating their thinking."

She named the visit by the Soviet educators in October, 1986 as her most successful project with ESR. The 10-day visit, which came after just one year of discussions with the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in Moscow, marks the beginning of a long-term U.S.-Soviet education program aimed at increased understanding and peaceful relations between the superpowers.

At the same time, Ms. Alexander struggles with the biggest challenge in teaching about the Soviet Union: how to work toward the control of nuclear weapons, an effort based on the value of life free from the nuclear threat, without sacrificing other, equally cherished values, such as political freedom and the right to dissent. The question is one that ESR will continue to explore.

Susan Alexander

Her goals for ESR include a determined attempt to reach beyond those already supportive of ESR's programs. "Ours is a centrist country," she said. "No real change can take place without the center." To that end she will encourage efforts to speak out in traditional school districts and parent groups, and strengthen attempts to involve the midwest and southern regions of the United States.

We are pleased to have, in our executive director, Susan Alexander's intelligence, expertise and commitment as ESR moves ahead.

For more information please contact ESR at 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 492-1764.

WAND WOMEN'S ACTION FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, INC.

"WE THE PEOPLE . . . NOW MORE THAN EVER"

The television specials, the magazine articles, the corporate promotions, and the government accolades have already begun. In one series of TV spots, a booming voice speaks the words of George Washington or Thomas Jefferson over the image of a familiar hand and quill pen, reminding Americans that their heritage of constitutionally protected freedoms has lasted for 200 years now.

The bicentennial of the signing of the U.S. Constitution will be celebrated on September 17, 1987, preceded by a year of activities in schools, communities and the media designed to promote patriotism and democratic values. An official Bicentennial Commission, chaired by retiring Chief Justice Warren Burger, will sponsor many of the events.

For grass-roots groups concerned with peace, nuclear disarmament and social justice issues, the constitutional bicentennial offers a ready-made opportunity to measure the policies of the nuclear age against the political heritage that most U.S. citizens value.

WAND Education Fund will take on this challenge in 1987 with a new Constitutional Peace Campaign, developed in collaboration with the Boston College Social Welfare Research Institute. The themes of the CPC are straightforward:

- negotiated resolution of conflict, exemplified by the making of the U.S. Constitution;
- reinforcement of shared political life under a representative government responsible to the people;
- promotion of the constitutional principles of basic individual rights in the United States and beyond its borders, and the effective use of politics on behalf of social responsibility and an enhanced quality of life.

Using the slogan "We the People . . . Now More Than Ever," WAND Education Fund will integrate CPC themes and images into its major 1987 programs, including media, speaker training, Mother's Day events and congressional lobbying. WAND will encourage other groups to adopt constitutional themes for their own programs and campaigns. The bicentennial will create an environment in which people can think about the meaning of constitutional rights in the nuclear age.

For more information about the Constitutional Peace Campaign or other WAND Education Fund programs, write to WAND Education Fund, 691 Massachusetts Av., Arlington, MA 02174 or call (617) 643-4880.

AFSC
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

THINKING ABOUT BELAU

"I am James Orak, a Belauan who now lives in Portland, Oregon. . . . I always dreamed about going back home to help my country become self-sufficient. Now that dream is threatened by the Compact [of Free Association] which would turn Belau into a military facility, bring social problems and destroy the peaceful way of life for my beautiful country."

So began James Orak's testimony last spring before a congressional subcommittee which is considering the Compact of Free Association. "The Compact" is an accord that would replace the United Nations strategic trust arrangement between the United States and three Micronesian states including Belau.

Orak, a member of Portland's Belauan community, told the subcommittee that the Compact would violate Belau's nuclear free constitution by permitting U.S. nuclear-powered ships and nuclear weapons in Belauan territory. And he said that a February plebiscite, where Belauans voted on the new Compact, was undemocratic—in part because voters were given biased and misleading interpretations of the new accord.

Indeed, these concerns led Belau's High Chief Yutaka Gibbons to challenge the Compact in Belauan court in May. James Orak and two others joined in this suit. The court agreed that the current Compact violated Belau's nuclear free constitution. (In the plebiscite, the Compact did not receive the 75 percent voter approval which is required to change the constitution). An appeal of the court decision was just turned down. It now appears that the United States will be forced to respect Belau's nuclear free constitution in any future agreements.

Belau is a small island republic in the Pacific. It is geographically distant from most readers of *Nuclear Times*. Why do we talk about it here?

First, we believe that the independence and nuclear free movements in Belau and other parts of the Pacific are very important. AFSC disarmament programs on the West Coast and in Hawaii have long recognized this. In Portland, for example, AFSC works with James Orak and others to support the Belauan community in their efforts to respond to the Compact. In Hawaii, AFSC questioned Navy homeporting plans (and the Navy's request for state-financed housing for Naval personnel) while simultaneously organizing for housing for the homeless.

Second, we believe that U.S. activists have much to learn from Belauans and other Pacific people. The story of Belau reminds us that people *throughout the world* are trying to get rid of nuclear weapons. It reminds us that people *do* have the power to say "No, you cannot put nuclear weapons on my land or in my ocean."

And it reminds us that the struggle for self-determination is never far from the struggle against militarism. Belauans have shown in repeated votes that they want their lands and waters to be nuclear free. But this exercise of democracy brings them into ongoing conflict with the world's largest military power.

Belau's story will continue. Want to hear more? Write to AFSC: in Portland, at 2249 E. Burnside, Portland, OR 97214 (503) 230-9427; or at our National Disarmament Program: 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7171.

COALITION

For a New Foreign and Military Policy

ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE: A NEGLECTED DANGER

A weapon system just as terrible as the MX and Trident D-5 missiles, but rarely addressed by the peace movement (let alone Congress), is the set of airplanes, submarines, torpedoes, and detection equipment collectively known as "anti-submarine warfare."

What the MX and D-5 can do against Soviet forces is beginning to be understood. When the D-5 is fully on line around 1996, the United States will have more than enough warheads to aim two of them at every Soviet silo, as well as to lay down barrages along mobile-missile tracks. Virtually every land-based Soviet weapon will be vulnerable to a swift, preemptive American attack.

In America we long ago decided to put most of our missiles on submarines, where they are much safer from attack than land missiles. The Soviet Union, for obvious geographical reasons, has never been a major naval power and still places most of its strategic weapons on land. So America's ability to destroy Soviet ICBMs on land is much closer to an unanswerable first-strike capacity than the Soviet Union's ability to destroy America's ICBMs—the specter of which was raised continually during the MX debate.

It really wouldn't matter if America had no land missiles at all, because our large fleet of Poseidon and Trident submarines is still quite safe. That is not true of the much smaller fleet of Soviet ballistic-missile submarines. For years the U.S. Navy has been vigorously pursuing anti-submarine weaponry, as well as detection and location systems, to find and destroy enemy submarines " in the first five minutes of the war," as Navy Secretary John F. Lehman recently put it. Or, we might add, just *before* the war.

The costs are staggering: In FY 1986, nine P3C Orion aircraft for $323 million, 18 Seahawk 60B helicopters for $233 million, 123 Mark 48 torpedoes for $396 million, and so on; this year a request for $454 million for a new kind of attack submarine (the SSN-21), even though the Navy already has 97 attack subs. By one estimate the total annual cost of anti-submarine operations has now reached $27 billion.

There has been barely a murmur from Congress and very little from the peace movement as this enormous first-strike program goes forward. Much of the program is packaged as "tactical" weaponry designed to protect U.S. surface ships from enemy subs. This is obvious Pentagon nonsense. In a nuclear war, the Soviet Union could ignore U.S. ships because they do not carry strategic nuclear weapons; if it chose to eliminate them, it could do so easily without submarines. The argument that our weapons are "tactical" is a screen for their real (strategic) function.

When three U.S. attack submarines surfaced at the North Pole last May, they were not rehearsing their role as protector of surface ships, which are seldom to be found up there. They were training for their strategic task, which is to hunt down and destroy every missile-carrying Soviet submarine at once, while the MX and D-5 missiles are flying toward the rest of the Soviet arsenal on land.

—Michael Ferber,
disarmament coordinator

The Coalition has just published a four-page resource on anti-submarine warfare for 25 cents each (12 cents for orders of 25 or more) plus shipping. Contact the Coalition at 712 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-8400.

THE FREEZE

A TEST BAN NOW!

On August 8, 1986, the House of Representatives moved the nation a step closer towards agreeing to a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) Treaty when it passed legislation to suspend funding for nuclear testing in 1987. A congressional ban on U.S. testing as an immediate first step towards a freeze has been the focus of a year-long lobbying effort by the National Freeze Campaign. In an effort to retain House amendments passed this summer to save the SALT II treaty, as well as to limit funding for testing, antisatellite weapons and SDI, the National Freeze Campaign is planning a fall agenda that includes lobbying, public actions and public education to achieve a test ban NOW.

Citizen's lobbying remains the key element of our legislative strategy. Buoyed by the August 8 House vote, local Freeze activists across the country lobbied swing members of the Authorization Conference Committee and the House and Senate Appropriations Committees to preserve the language of the Aspin-Gephardt-Schroeder amendment to cut off funding for nuclear testing. Letter writing campaigns in Georgia have produced over 1000 handwritten postcards to Senator Sam Nunn. Other Conference Committee members as well as major newspapers can expect an avalanche of letters from local constituents and concerned citizens demanding a test ban NOW!

Local groups are conducting nuclear "tests" in their communities as part of a public education campaign. The 10-question, true-false nuclear test is designed to de-mystify the arms control verification issue, and to raise public awareness of the House's support for a test ban and the Soviet extension of the testing moratorium.

To increase pressure on the White House to join the Soviet moratorium and to inaugurate a CTB, the National Freeze Campaign will focus its energies on increasing national exposure on the testing issue. On September 19, the Campaign joined Dr. Spock, Representatives Ted Weiss (D-NY) and Jim Moody (D-WI), Rear Admiral Eugene Carroll (Ret.) of the Center for Defense Information, and other Washington-based peace groups in a "Test Peace not Bombs" vigil in front of the Albert Einstein Memorial in Washington, D.C. National Freeze and local Freeze groups will participate in other major regional and national actions being planned this fall. Freeze support for these actions will culminate on the weekend of November 15 when the Great Peace March arrives in Washington, DC and the Nevada Test Site/Washington, DC action takes place.

For more information, contact the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St. NE, Ste 130, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD

PASS THE WORD

PEACE QUILT Holiday Greetings and Gifts! Museum quality greeting cards with envelopes, 8 asstd. $6. Gift pack of 10 asstd. PEACE QUILT postcards $3.50.

Include $2.50 shipping from:

BOISE PEACE QUILT PROJECT
P.O. Box 6469, Boise, ID 83707
Qty. discounts; dealer inquiries.

The Nuclear Devil's Dictionary

"A witty and scathing dictionary."
Dr. Spock
"A delightful lesson in 'how to read between the lies.'".
The Progressive

125 pages
44 editorial cartoons
$7.95 postpaid

Usonia Press
Box 19440-J
Diamond Lake Station
Minneapolis, MN 55419

Custom-printed
• BUTTONS • DECALS • BUMPERSTICKERS
and many other items!
SINCE 1961 WE HAVE OFFERED LOW WHOLESALE PRICES TO PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS
For **FREE** Catalog and Listing of over 150 in-stock items (nearly 1000 organizations use our items to raise funds!)
Write or Call:
LARRY FOX
BOX M-18
VALLEY STREAM, NY 11582
(516) 791-7929

МОСТЫ К МИРУ

VISIT THE USSR IN 1987

with US-USSR Bridges for Peace:

APRIL 5-20: $1975
MOSCOW, ODESSA, LENINGRAD
JUNE 28-JULY 13: $2275
MOSCOW, MINSK, LENINGRAD
OCTOBER 11-26: $1975
MOSCOW, RIGA, LENINGRAD

"Bridges" has developed an extensive network of contacts in the USSR through four years of exchange project work with a variety of Soviet organizations. These contacts enhance our tours, adding a significant dimension of citizen dialogue.

To reserve your place, send deposit of $150, specifying which tour, to:
US-USSR BRIDGES FOR PEACE
BOX 710A, NORWICH, VT 05055
(802) 649-1000

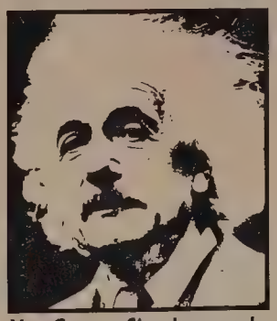
MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE

"WORLD PEACE"
IN RUSSIAN
gift booklet included
White shirt with black print
50/50 cotton/poly

ADULTS S-M-L-XL
Tee $10 Sweatshirt $15
KIDS XS-S-M-L
Tee $7 Sweatshirt $11
INFANTS 3/6 - 6/12 - 12/18 - 18/24 mos.
Lapshoulder Tee $5.50

Prices include shipping.
NY Res. add sales tax.
15% of our profits to Peace.
Specify size • style • qty.
Mail check or money order to:
SUBTERRANEA DESIGNWORKS
Box 319-NT, Gracie Sta., New York, NY 10028
Please allow approx. 4 weeks for delivery.

PROMOTE PEACE



You Cannot Simultaneously Prevent And Prepare For War
–Albert Einstein 1879-1955

and raise funds for your group. Send for a free catalog of over 200 buttons, bumperstickers, T-shirts, posters and other disarmament resources.

Einstein T-shirt shown above:
S/M/L/XL $8.00 + $1.00 shipping
100% cotton/Dark Blue on Cream

PEACE RESOURCE PROJECT
P.O. Box 1122
Arcata, California 95521
(707) 822-4229

DESIGNS IN FULL COLOR

10 Greeting Cards & Envelopes $7.50
10 Note Cards (No Envelopes) $5.95
11" × 17" Poster $8.50 Decal $1.25
All prices include shipping.

Send your name, address, zip code and check to: Physicians for Social Responsibility, P.O. Box 14723, Portland, Oregon 97214

MAKE A STATEMENT

NuclearThinking
NEW CLEAR

BUMPER STICKERS $3 T-SHIRTS $9.95
(include $1.50 postage and handling per item)
SPECIFY ITEM AND SIZE S,M,L or XL
Send Check or Money Order to:
WITUS PRODUCTIONS
P.O. Box 9325 Marina del Rey, CA 90295

An original work of sculpture. Watching The Skies © 1982
Anti Nuclear War Head - Ceramic 4" high. Black or White $12.00
T-Shirts 50% cotton black on red $8.50 prices include p. & h.
Address A.N.W. H, 832 Sego Ave., SLC. UT 84102-3426.

EMPLOYMENT

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 72-year old religious pacifist organization, seeks applicants for:
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: responsible for general leadership, business and personnel management, and program activities in Nyack, NY. Past experience with board/membership organization and multiple staff necessary. Salary negotiable, fringe benefits. Apply by December 1.
PROGRAM COORDINATOR: to supervise Nyack, NY program staff and field secretaries. The program focuses on racial and economic justice, peace and disarmament issues. Apply by January 1.

Minorities and women encouraged to apply for both. Send resumes to Scott Kennedy, FOR Personnel Committee, Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063.

War/Peace Editor: The Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, an independent research organization, is seeking an executive editor to manage *Deadline*, its bi-monthly publication of research and commentary on news media coverage of U.S.-Soviet relations, nuclear weapons issues, and arms control. Applicants should have demonstrated research or writing experience and superior editorial skills in all phases of publication work from refining through production. The executive editor shall bear primary responsibility for *Deadline* and take part in the Center's other publications and research activities. Salary to $30,000, commensurate with experience, with full University benefits. Applicants should send a letter, resume, clips, and other supporting material to: Editorial Search, Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, 1021 Main Building, New York University, New York, NY 10003.

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD

VOLUNTEERS AGAINST VIOLENCE

Full-time staff positions with **Center For Teaching Non-Violence.** Lodging, $150/mo. & health coverage. One year minimum commitment, $2500 separation stipend. Public interest activism, research, publishing on aggression, developing courses on non-violence, operating **National Coalition on Television Violence**(TV, films, war toys, sports, etc). Next to Univ Illinois. 217-384-1920. Resume to Thomas Radecki, M.D., Box 2157, Champaign IL 61820.

OVERSEAS EMPLOYMENT

Newsletter listing current openings $5.00. 1987 Directory of Hiring Agencies $7.00. U.S. companies abroad; complete list; what they do; $20.00 per country. Directories of English-speaking schools abroad, $3.00 per country. Total Job Search Catalog $1.00. **Mr. Information**, POB 955-491, Ganges, B.C., Canada V0S 1E0.

GOOD READING

THE WORDS OF JESUS ON PEACE

Attractive, motivating, inspirational book $4.95. Satisfaction guaranteed. Larry Langdon Pubs., Dept. Q, 34735 Perkins Creek Rd., Cottage Grove, Oregon 97424.

NEW! From GRAVITY PUBLISHING

THE
HERE TODAY
HERE TOMORROW
CALENDAR
1987

Contains ready-to-send letters for disarmament to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev.

"A unique calendar that celebrates life and creation."
—Gil Friend, President, Foundation for the Arts of Peace

"It's like Mark Twain and Tom Paine teamed up to cut through the terror and denial surrounding the topic of nukes. Humor, inventiveness, and a basic belief in democracy provide optimism and a way for all of us to start doing something about our survival. This little gem transforms lots of nonsense into a lot of common sense."
—Tony Husch, ordinary citizen

CONTAINS:
- *Highlights and near misses from nuclear history.*
- *Expanded theory of evolution.*
- *Explanation of why Jesus hasn't returned.*
- *Dates of simultaneous sunsets and full moon risings.*
- *The effects of nuclear war on life and afterlife.*
- *The best in atomic humor.*
- *Hope, practical wisdom, and much more.*

More than a datebook; a little daily reminder.

TO ORDER
Send $6.95 to
GRAVITY PUBLISHING
6116 MERCED—SUITE 233A
OAKLAND, CA 94611
(2 or more calendars, $5.95 each)
(CA residents add 6% sales tax)

Bookstore and bulk order inquiries are welcome.

Canadian Quaker
PEACE STUDY PACKS
- *Quaker Peace Testimony*
- *Active Nonviolence*

5 – 6 sessions each
Pack for group of ten: $15 postpaid
Pack for individual: $10 "
Argenta Friends Press
Argenta, B.C., Canada V0G 1B0

FILMS FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE
The 1987 War Resisters League
PEACE CALENDAR and Appointment Book

• Introductions by Ruby Dee and Ed Asner • Over 150 movies with themes of peace and justice • 54 film photos • Lists of distributors and resources • 128 pages, 5½ x 8½ • A page for every week of the year. $8 each, Four for $28. Order from: Donnelly/Colt, Box 188-NT, Hampton, CT 06247. 203 455-9621.

THE LAND OF EVERYWHERE
A Peace Play for Young Audiences.
Boosts fund raising, outreach, morale. Tourable.
Cast - 3: Playing time - 35-40 min: no sets.
Scripts: $2.50 plus postage. Royalty: $35/perf.
Coach House Press, Inc.
P.O. Box 458 · Morton Grove, IL 60053
Send $3 for reading copy (postage incl.)

SEND A MESSAGE OF PEACE

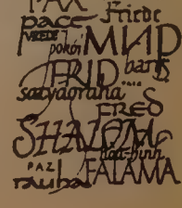
A

10 Cards for $3.00
20 Cards for $5.00
(Add $1.50 per set for postage & handling.)

Designs in Red, Gray & Blk on White
(with envelopes)

Order From:
INFACT
1020 S. Wabash #400
Chicago, IL 60605
Attn: Kim

Please Specify type A or B



B

Buttons, stickers, product cards & more available.
ASK FOR FREE BROCHURE

PROCEEDS SUPPORT INFACT'S G.E. BOYCOTT
TO HELP STOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS

DEADLINE

A Bulletin From the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1986 VOLUME I, NO. 5

Iceland: An Editorial

"The summit in Iceland has been as much a failure this evening as it was thought to be a success this morning," Peter Jennings reported from Reykjavik during ABC's post-summit special the day it ended. "Tonight," he continued, "we will try to explain to you—and, quite frankly, to ourselves, to some measure—exactly what happened." Begun that Sunday evening in Iceland, the work of understanding is still under way.

How did the news media take up the task? The next few days told the story. On Sunday, they grilled a succession of dispirited and angry administration officials who said many things they later wished they hadn't. The headlines on Monday morning, October 13, told their story: SUMMIT FAILS (*Baltimore Sun, Philadelphia Inquirer*), COLLAPSES (*Boston Globe, Los Angeles Times*), FALLS THROUGH (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*), CRUMBLES (*USA Today*).

What happened seemed clear. But why? The press answered that question by assigning blame. In Monday's papers reporters for *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Los Angeles Times* laid the failure at Mikhail Gorbachev's door, accepting administration reports that the Soviets had made demands for unacceptable revision of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

Opinion in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* was divided. In the *Post,* David Hoffman blamed the general secretary, Lou Cannon, the president. In the *Times,* Bernard Gwertzman laid the onus on Gorbachev, but Leslie H. Gelb distributed responsibility evenly, although he suggested that the Soviets had been out to "stiffen" the ABM treaty.

In this respect, Gelb was in the mainstream. Even most of those who suggested that Reagan bore the onus accepted the administration's description of the Soviet position. Walter Pincus and Robert Kaiser in the *Post* and Norman Kempster in *The Los Angeles Times* were among the few who questioned this account. Pincus and Kaiser were also among the few who took Soviet objections to S.D.I. seriously enough to explain them. In general, the president earned high marks for the arrangements on the table and, although a sense of opportunity lost does indeed pervade the coverage, it is diffuse. Critics of the president's refusal to trade S.D.I. concessions for offensive cuts are quoted, but so are his supporters. On balance, the administration fared very well in the press.

On Tuesday, after some White House spin control and the president's speech, lead stories stressed his upbeat assessment of the summit. "Let's not look back and place blame," the president had told the country, and the press largely acceded to his wishes.

By the middle of the week, when papers carried news of the president's attacks on opponents of S.D.I., the parameters of the Reykjavik summit story had largely been set. Stories that apportioned blame yielded to more nuanced accounts of what had taken place in Hofdi House. Dire predictions of a Soviet-American rupture gave way to stories describing new negotiating opportunities. As had the two leaders, coverage converged on the notion that Reykjavik had been an overture, not a finale. But although the president had now established S.D.I. as an election issue, few news organizations seized the opportunity to reexamine the technical or military issues raised by the program or by the summit as a whole.

The exception was a story that first turned up on Tuesday in *The Washington Post*. "Military officers and lawmakers with expertise," wrote George C. Wilson, "expressed amazement yesterday that President Reagan would offer the Soviets a deal to eliminate ballistic missiles." Similar suggestions also appeared buried at the ends of stories in *The New York Times* and *The Christian Science Monitor* the same day; and on Thursday, several key paragraphs in a "News Analysis" by Leslie H. Gelb were devoted to the issue. "[P]erhaps of greatest concern to strategic experts . . . are the effects on diplomacy and security of a world essentially without nuclear weapons," he wrote in *The New York Times*. Bernard E. Trainor, the paper's new military affairs writer, devoted an entire "Analysis" on Friday to the proposition that deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons would increase the chance of war.

On Friday, amidst growing alarm in the policy community at the spectre of nuclear disarmament, the White House hastened to affirm that its proposals had concerned only ballistic missiles. This provided scant reassurance to those such as Senator Sam Nunn, whom the *Times* had already quoted as urging that the offer to eliminate the missiles be retracted "immediately . . . before the Soviets accept it." By Saturday, the controversy over how much of the nuclear deterrent could be safely eliminated had arrived on front pages.

After decades of talk about getting rid of nuclear weapons, it now seems as though the country might actually have to decide whether it really wants to. In the week following the Iceland summit, the press was already taking the view that eliminating missiles was a bad idea. That's not the best way to begin covering what is arguably the most critical story of the nuclear age.

DEADLINE

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1986

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1986 VOL. 1, NUMBER 5

Iceland: An Editorial 1

It's as Simple as ABC 3
The Russians are Coming to Amerika Thomas Powers

The Selling of *Amerika* 5
Patriotic Rushes for Advertisers Richard Pollak

U.S. News' Nicholas Daniloff 6
How 'Exemplary' A Correspondent? Tony Kaye and Robert Karl Manoff

The Pruning Hooks Go to Prison 9
American Dissidents Receive Scant Coverage William A. Dorman

'No Quick Fix' 12
An Annotated New York Times *editorial* Kosta Tsipis

Letters 14

Illustration by Kimberly Bulcken Root

Editor Richard Pollak

Co-directors of the Center Robert Karl Manoff, David M. Rubin

Senior Staff Associate Tony Kaye

Center Associates Pamela Abrams, Ann Marie Cunningham, William Dorman, Ronnie Dugger, Tom Gervasi, Todd Gitlin, Jonathan Halperin, Michael Kirkhorn, Thomas Powers, Jay Rosen, Jacqueline Simon

Assistant to the Directors Kimberly Otis

Researchers Steven Brams, Ellen McGrath, Sylvia C. Steinert, Pamela Suppiee, Betsy Treitler

Design Michael Freeman

Board of Advisors Richard J. Barnet, Hans A. Bethe, McGeorge Bundy, Stephen F. Cohen, Dennis Flanagan, Rev. J. Bryan Hehir, Robert Jervis, George W. Rathjens, Jane M. Sharp, Dimitri K. Simes, John Steinbruner, Kosta Tsipis

Deadline is published bi-monthly by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.

© 1986 New York University.

Please address letters and all inquiries to the Center, 1021 Main Building, New York University, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 598-7804

It's as Simple as ABC, Amerika: The TV Russians Are Coming

by Thomas Powers

There are no cars in the streets of Chicago. Most of the street lights are out and the ones that remain flicker fitfully. Heaps of trash line the sidewalks, but it is old trash; it's been a long time since the last pickup. Singing comes from a rundown church: "Deep in December, it's nice to remember . . ." But the church is unheated, dimly lit; the people within shiver in overcoats, stamping their feet and blowing on their hands. Outside is a silent, gray, dingy city; nobody is about as the wind flicks at the trash. The police watch wherever two or three people gather together. Where have we seen this before? East Berlin . . . Prague . . . Warsaw . . . .

How can this be America, the land of the private car? What's happened to the vast national fleet in its scores of millions: the honking, rumbling, gas-guzzling, exhaust-spewing, tire-squealing swarm; the two- and three-car families, the hundred-acre California car lots, the mighty interstate arteries pumping traffic day and night? Have the Arabs shut off the oil? Have the environmentalists finally passed the ultimate emission-control law?

Nothing of the kind. The fact is, they've cleared the streets to make a movie: *Amerika*, ABC's controversial, on-again off-again, twelve-hour mini-series about a Soviet takeover of the United States, to be broadcast early next year.

I haven't seen the show, but I have read the 579-page script by Donald Wrye, who has missed few opportunities in his relentlessly bleak portrait of Soviet America. The empty streets are only the first of the horrors in store for the unhappy U.S. citizens of 1994, six years after the occupation which has transformed the country into a gray facsimile of Eastern Europe.

Nothing works anymore. The stores are empty. Farmfolk line up with their string bags outside a Middle Western IGA on a rumor of a shipment of tomatoes. In schools the kids recite rote lessons about the bad old days of "Social Darwinism"—land-grabbing from the Indians, robber barons, imperial wars in Korea, Vietnam, Central America. A young ballerina (Lara Boyle) loses her chance to join a regional company because she's too good, too innovative, too independent.

Americans run Amerika, of course; the Congress rubber-stamps legislation drafted by "foreign advisers," and the president, an amiable non-entity from Missouri, signs it into law. Peter Bradford (Robert Urich), the earnest Milford County administrator, has learned to do what he can and suffer what he must. He remembers the old America, where every man (and woman) was free to be you and me, and he's sorry it's gone, but facts are facts. Asked what he wants for breakfast at Herb n' Betty's Cafe, Peter says wistfully: "Aunt Jemima pancakes with real maple syrup, maybe some little pork link sausages . . . ." What he gets are soy cakes and molasses the color of tar and muddy coffee. He swallows them because a man has to eat to live, just as he swallows some pretty distressing orders from the foreign advisers because he has no choice. He could quit but the next guy to take the job might be a whole lot worse, and besides, at least he can pull a few strings for his daughter, the unhappy ballerina, and get her a place in the regional company after all. The daughter is thrilled; this is her big chance—how could a father sacrifice a daughter's happiness for some useless gesture of principled noncooperation?

But some do buck the new system, of course, and land in the slammer for their trouble, or get banished from good jobs to exile in the boondocks. A few mistakes of that sort and most men learn to keep their mouths shut. The rest are bitter, isolated, divided, or in jail. The youth of this pathetic remnant of the America of Washington and Lincoln do drugs, drink, risk their lives in daredevilry, watch TV, give the raspberry to all figures of authority, horrify their parents by thinking things have always been like this, and drift listlessly from dull school to duller job.

How did we come to this sorry pass? "It happened subtly," says Devin Milford (Kris Kristofferson), the last free candidate for president (in 1988), shortly before the hammer came down for good and he was shipped off to Texas for six years of re-education. Colonel Andrei Denisov (Sam Neill) of the KGB is not much more specific. "Maybe you were too afraid of losing what you had to protect it," he says. Peter Bradford is the most succinct about this largest single act of conquest in human history: "You just got the drop on us."

That's pretty much all we get by way of explanation, and I'm afraid it won't wash. The United States is protected by great oceans on the east and west, and weak neighbors to the north and south. The Soviet Union might invade and occupy China, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and the rest of Europe if it chose to do so and no one came to the aid of the victims, but the United States is too strong and too far away. Invasions across water are a tricky business. Hitler abandoned his plans to invade Britain across a channel twenty miles wide because it was too hard to carry off; Russia seemed an easier target.

In the months immediately following Pearl Harbor a lot of people in California expected an invasion by the Japanese, but the Japanese themselves never even toyed with this dumb idea. The Allied invasion of Europe at Normandy in 1944 took three years of preparation and was far from a guaranteed success. Unlike Russia, which has strong neighbors and *no* natural frontiers, the United States is protected by size and geography from all but illegal aliens.

This not only is a fact, but, more importantly, it is accepted as a fact by the White House and Pentagon alike. At no time in the forty-year history of the Cold War has any American government genuinely feared Russian invasion or "takeover." Past and present risks of war with Russia have nothing to do with the national defense strictly defined—control of our own territory

simply is not at issue. Even if Russia were in political control of everything beyond North America, invasion would not be a serious threat. This is not what they worry about in the Pentagon. The Cold War isn't about us and the Russians, but (in the first instance, at least) about Europe and the Russians. It is in defense of *their* territory that we run the risk of war.

But how can an American president tell the country we have built 10,000 strategic nuclear warheads, and invite attack by as many in return, just to make sure the Germans, the Italians, and the French don't have to stand in line for tomatoes in a hungry Soviet Europe? He can't. He's got to imply that somehow the Russians are a direct threat to us. This is what *Amerika* tries to do. The message of the show, relentlessly hammered home, is that a failure to stand up to the Russians will somehow open the door, and we'll wind up like Poland, trapped in a grinding nightmare of lost freedoms and permanent material want. Whereas the real consequence for Americans of a failure of the West to defend itself would be loneliness. This is not something to be dismissed lightly, but it is not occupation either.

Amerika has a lot in common with the earliest work in the genre—the "Battle of Dorking," a tale of the German invasion of England written by a veteran of the Indian Army, Col. George Tomkyns Chesney, and published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1871. Both have a hard time coming up with a credible central premise—Chesney's explanation for the absence of the British fleet, for example, is about as convincing as Peter Bradford's claim that the Russian's "got the drop on us." But Chesney was worried about something real, all the same; Germany's rapid defeat of France—widely thought to have the best army in Europe—came as a deep shock in 1870. Britain had nothing to stand up to the Germans and knew it, and the Germans had done the one thing bound to raise the fears of neighbors to white heat—annex territory.

The "Battle of Dorking" was immensely popular and a whole school of scare literature flourished in its wake, arousing popular fears of something quite unlikely (German invasion) in order to win support for military preparations so Britain might have a say in the outcome of a struggle only too likely (a war between Germany and her neighbors for the domination of Europe). The scare literature hardly can be said to have *caused* the First World War, but it certainly contributed to the general atmosphere of suspicion and distrust which made the war so hard to avoid.

ABC's decision to make *Amerika* apparently was in direct response to a newspaper column by Ben Stein in October 1983, shortly after ABC broadcast its equally controversial show on nuclear Armageddon, *The Day After.* Stein had no quarrel with that, but thought ABC owed it to the world to explain why we were running "such a dreadful risk"—namely, "why we are fighting communism . . . and why it would be the worst catastrophe of all history if we stopped fighting against it." Stein, a former speechwriter for presidents Nixon and Ford, sketched in his idea for *In Red America*—a takeover by clever sleight-of-hand, then relentless Sovietization of America along Czech and Polish models. ABC paid Stein for his story idea and used it without significant amendment.

Amerika is just what Dr. Stein ordered, and it has made a lot of people very unhappy, starting with the Russians. After loudly crying foul with some success, they then undid their own good work with a clumsy threat of reprisals against ABC correspondents in Moscow if the network went ahead. The peace movement also denounced the project as pure Cold War atavism—a tele-orgy of commie-hating which could only whip up irrational fears of Russians in jackboots storming into the churches and shopping malls of America.

Amerika is emotional, commie-hating, and irrational (at least to the extent it's based on a false premise), but it is also a pretty solid and troubling piece of work. Great drama it's not; the characters and plot have the unmistakable flavor of soap opera. But it's soap opera of a generally high order, and if you forget for a moment this is supposed to be the United States, and consider only the situation and the ways in which people react to it, then two historical parallels come immediately to mind: France after its moral collapse in June 1940, and the countries of Eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War.

In both cases, the victims found themselves powerless to resist even the grossest violation of their honor and independence. The French, for example, shipped their Jews to the gas ovens with little more than symbolic protest, while 50,000 French employees of the Gestapo busied themselves tracking down 5,000 members of the French resistance. In Poland and Czechoslovakia local Communist parties murdered their own members on Stalin's whim, then hacked apart their own social systems in order to build coarse copies of Moscow's.

Something very similar is going on in Afghanistan today, with none of the international protests that dogged the American adventure in Vietnam. Why this awful numb silence, which makes the disgraceful dithering of the League of Nations over the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 look principled and resolute in comparison? It's not hard to figure. Once you begin to protest, you may be called upon to act. Think about that for a minute. Imagine yourself really believing it was important to stop the Soviets from imposing a client regime on Afghanistan, just as important as the Soviets once thought it was to keep us from doing the same in Vietnam. What happens then?

At some level, the American people already have addressed this question and concluded that the fate of the Afghans, while sad, is no business of ours. The same goes for the unhappy citizens of Eastern Europe. But what about Western Europe? If—a big if, troubling to grant—*if* the Soviets should conclude that their own security demanded a similar measure of control over the nations of Western Europe, demanded, that is, outright absorption of Western Europe into the Socialist

(continued on page 6)

The Selling of *Amerika*

AMERIKA WILL NOT BE BROADcast until early next year. But to sell the show to advertisers, ABC is circulating a 35-minute videocassette that distills the projected twelve-hour miniseries into an unalloyed concentrate of patriotism and Red-bashing. It opens with a parade in Milford, the drama's principal small-town setting. With martial music in the background, a voice-over intones:

"Freedom, what a strange-sounding word. Free. Free. Free. You say it enough times and it begins to sound . . . mean, nothing." The VO then tells us that it's ten years after a Soviet takeover. "They did it without firing a shot. We just woke up one morning and they were here." The scenes that follow summarize the plot.

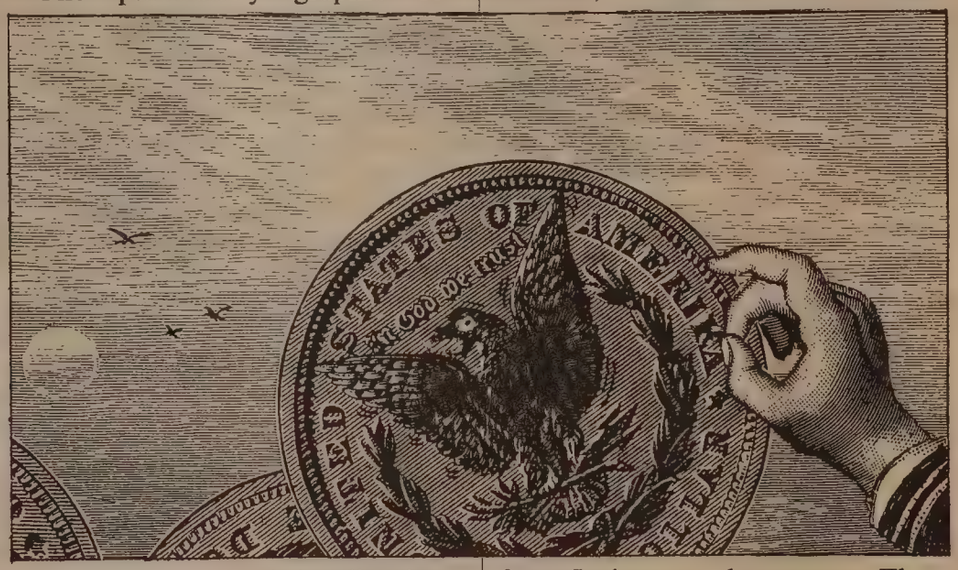
Devin Milford, who had run for president in 1988, returns home after six years in the American Gulag. We first see him walking through a field of waving wheat. He is Kris Kristofferson, craggy-gaunt behind a salt-and-pepper beard. At a warm reunion dinner in the family farmhouse all embrace him except his father, who angrily leaves the table. Later they confront one another while forking hay to cows in the barn. To background moos, Devin's equally craggy father says three generations of Milfords had built the land but that he had come back from Vietnam "tearin' it down." He looks his son in the eye and says: "You lost the land."

While Devin struggles with his conscience and tries to see his children, who have been taken by his quisling wife to Chicago, we get quick vignettes of the other main characters. Peter Bradford, played earnestly by Robert Urich, cooperates with the Soviet regime, much to the distress of his wife. While dressing for a banquet at which he will be appointed to a powerful political post in the community, she accuses him of selling out his country. Angrily, he responds:

"For most people, being an American never meant that much anyway. You know that. We all were just living our own lives, doing the best we could. I mean the last time there was any real American spirit was World War II, fifty years ago."

We also meet smooth-sinister Soviet bureaucrats, pliable American women who love them, and see scenes of privation on the prairie. The Milford town cafe is reduced to serving soyburgers and there just simply are no tomatoes anywhere. When too many people start to complain and dissent, tanks roll and helicopters fly, all spitting fire and terrifying the good Americans.

One particularly graphic sequence shows a tank heading into the camera and crushing a helpless, unarmed woman. Another shows the burning of a barn on the Milford farm, torched by the occupiers because the family won't disclose the whereabouts of a fugitive.



Devin is now determined to get both the fugitive and his country back. Before the promotion cassette ends he meets with American dissidents who run the "underground railway" and we see scenes of a revolutionary movement forming to regain the land. In a barn, as the camera pans the sea of Rockwellian countenances that surround him, Devin says:

"I'm not afraid anymore. Look at us, here we are who we are because our forefathers built a dream. Sacrificing for it when that was what was called for. Dying for it. And we're the result. Their dream did not die with them. It lives with us. I can't, I won't abandon that legacy. America is not a flag or piece of territory. It's each one of us here and all around the country. That's what America is. How can we give it up?"

The voiceover now takes charge, as we see a gathering in the streets of Milford, determination writ large on all their faces. "This was the land of opportunity, where everyone had the right to truth and justice," says the VO, as a banner with Lenin's face flashes on the screen. Then comes Old Glory and the Nazi-like Soviet official on the platform growls: "The flag is forbidden."

But by now even sellout Bradford has caught the revolutionary fever and soon he and everyone else are singing "The Star-Spangled Banner." The camera begins to move. Hats come off. A World War II veteran in a wheelchair salutes. A corn-fed young man glows with a readiness to die for his country. A tearful old man grips the flag proudly. Then comes a closeup of Devin, who clearly holds the future in his noble hands now that he's learned the importance of patriotism. Fade out to the word: *AMERIKA*. In red.

—Richard Pollak

(continued from page 4)

Camp, would *that* be any business of ours?

This is a question that does not get a whole lot of direct attention in the mass media. If the United States and the rest of the planet are ever incinerated in a nuclear war, the immediate cause probably will be dispute over whose army gets to go where in Europe or the Middle East—both far from the United States and close to Russia. American governments since 1945 have been unanimous in believing big risks are justified to keep Russia out of Western Europe. At the same time these administrations have lived in holy terror that the American people would somehow at last clearly grasp that the country was running these big risks to defend the independence of other countries, not our own.

It took a sneak attack by Japan and a declaration of war by Germany to get us into World War II. Would we be any quicker to put our lives on the line for some notion of "collective security" now, in this nuclear era? Clearly our own government does not believe so. Why else would we station an American army in Europe at great expense, if not to guarantee our involvement? Shortly before World War I, a British staff officer asked his French counterpart what would be the smallest number of French troops he would find useful in the event of German attack. "One," was the answer, "and we would see to it he was killed." The American troops attached to NATO serve a similar purpose; an attack on them might appear, in the heat of the moment, like an attack on us, and thus overcome the natural reluctance of democracies to involve themselves in foreign wars. It's a cynical ploy, but safer than finding a way to ask the American public if it really believes the independence of Europe important enough to justify the risk of nuclear war.

Having your country run by a Marxist-Leninist party under Moscow's control is no joke; neighbors who face the risk find the prospect frankly terrifying. But it's a piece of dishonest sleight-of-hand for *Amerika* to suggest that America faces a real danger of this happening here, even though its portrait of what would happen is a fair and straight-forward version of what in fact has happened elsewhere. The important question is not whether any sensible country would try to defend itself from such a fate, but whether the United States should risk itself to defend some other country from such a fate.

Amerika is a rousing piece of work at the visceral level, but I don't think it can be said to help clear things up in the way Ben Stein intended. Is the problem really the Soviet style? Would we welcome the Russians if they could be held to a promise to abide by the Bill of Rights? Would we tolerate Soviet regimes in Bonn, Paris, Rome, and London if they respected and promoted all that was best in Western civilization? The prospect that frightens us is Soviet power, not the nature of the Soviet regime. If they were weak we wouldn't care what they did, just as we don't care what Chile does. It works both ways: The Soviets are just as frightened of our power. If we had enough of it we'd peel away Poland and Czechoslovakia, reunite Germany, give the Baltic states their independence, take back Cam Ranh Bay, rewrite the Soviet constitution, close down the Gulag, grant missionary rights to Evangelicals, sponsor an international investigation of the Katyn Massacre, and open up emigration to Soviet Jews. How does all this really differ from the sort of social engineering described in *Amerika*? From the Soviet point of view it's just as intrusive and much more probable.

The United States and the Soviet Union don't threaten each other because we're different but because we're the same: big, touchy, self-obsessed, full of half-baked theories about the right way to run the world, convinced the other guys are getting ready to pull a fast one, above all dangerous to each other.

Amerika is honest enough when it's describing Soviet methods for running client states, but at first mention of the bigger question it circles the wagons—the Reds are the problem, keep your dukes up, whistle "The Star-Spangled Banner" whenever thoughts about the bomb make your knees watery. *Amerika* is no great shakes but, perhaps, as pure theater, it's a cut above *The Day After.* Taken together the two shows are a look into the American Id, the primitive fears which keep us awake at night—subjugation on the one hand, annihilation on the other. If the other side really won't settle for anything less than commissars in every American town, then of course, as a practical matter, we have no choice. Ben Stein contends a failure to deal with this highly conjectural threat "would be the worst catastrophe of all history," but that's hyperbole. The weapons-makers already have prepared worse. In the end, *Amerika* only muddies the water, encouraging Americans and Russians alike to shake their heads and ask plaintively: How can you deal with guys like that?

THOMAS POWERS is a Center Associate and the author of Thinking About The Next War, *a collection of essays. He is writing a history of strategic weapons.*

A Closer Look at 'Hard-working,' 'Exemplary' Nicholas Daniloff

by Tony Kaye and Robert Karl Manoff

When Nicholas Daniloff was arrested in the Soviet Union August 30, his fellow American journalists understandably rallied to his defense. They seemed to speak with a single voice in praising the Moscow bureau chief of *U.S. News & World Report* as a model Moscow correspondent whose energetic reporting and long list of sources finally had tried the patience of Soviet officialdom and made him a marked man in the eyes of the KGB.

A group of twelve leading media executives, led by Eugene L. Roberts, editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer,* described Daniloff on September 22 as "an exemplary journalist" in a telegram to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and two other Soviet officials. *The Boston*

Globe argued in a September 5 editorial that "Daniloff may have been singled out because of his fluent Russian and his ability to search out stories beyond those fed to him by official sources." David Gergen, the editor of *U.S. News*, sounded the same themes at a press conference the day before: "He speaks Russian fluently. He has many contacts. He has friends there . . . . He's a very aggressive reporter, resourceful. He develops his own sources of information." In short, Gergen said, "Nick is exactly the kind of journalist the Soviets dislike intensely." In denouncing Daniloff's arrest, the editors of *The Washington Post* took a moment to put in a "word about Nick Daniloff himself." He is "hard-working, well-versed, unassuming, extremely intelligent and energetic," the paper said. "None of this, as you will already have been thinking, is the sort of thing that would ingratiate him with Soviet authorities. His journalistic instincts and his degree of understanding are both too good."

Nicholas Daniloff endured his month-long ordeal in Moscow and emerged in Washington and New York as the archetype of the American reporter and rapidly became, as Ted Koppel put it, "the most famous reporter in the world."

But how *good* a reporter was he? Little attention was paid to the work he had done in Moscow before the Russians and the Americans collaborated to make him a star. UPI, for which Daniloff worked in Moscow from 1961 to 1965, no longer has his clips on file. But the work he did as a more mature journalist with a freer hand for *U.S. News* is available in the microfilm collections of libraries around the country. And although newsmagazine journalism is a refined product that bears the stamp of many hands, Daniloff's byline on five years' worth of clips nevertheless makes it possible to evaluate the claims made on his behalf.

Daniloff's tour can be divided into two parts. For the first year and a half, he wrote mostly feature stories on Soviet society and everyday life, filing stories from the Republics of Soviet Central Asia, Irkutsk and Yakutsk in Siberia, as well as from elsewhere outside Moscow. Beginning in late 1983, when Yuri Andropov dropped from sight and was rumored to be ill, Daniloff's stories became more political and Moscow-based, the exception being one on a trip he took to the city of Murmansk. Questions about the future leadership of the Soviet Union raised by Andropov's illness, the continued deterioration of U.S.-Soviet relations under Konstantin Chernenko and the Gorbachev succession seemed to keep Daniloff in Moscow after that. Moreover, as the pace of U.S.-Soviet relations quickened in 1985, and as editorial tastes began to change in the Washington home office of *U.S. News*, Daniloff wrote fewer of his own stories and contributed more often to those written by others. In 1986, Daniloff wrote no stories himself but coauthored two, contributed to thirteen others, and received credit for two sidebars. Three days before his arrest, his New York agent received four chapters of a book about his Russian roots that he had been writing in Moscow. Overall, from the time he first appeared in the magazine in July 1981, he was credited with writing some fifty-five stories, coauthoring seven, contributing to twenty-nine others, and sitting for three Q-and-A's in which he spoke directly to readers.

Daniloff emerges in his own stories as a man who nurtured a genuine affection for Russian people and their culture and who was therefore something of an anomaly in the beleaguered Moscow press corps. Fluent in the language and with Russian roots himself, he took evident pleasure in introducing his readers to his Russian friends and acquaintances.

He also made occasional attempts to explain the world as it looked to the Russians, writing pieces about how Soviet citizens viewed the Gorbachev succession (February 20, 1984), World War II (June 8, 1985), and the "American threat" (May 23, 1983).

On occasion, and despite Daniloff's apparent sympathy for Reagan administration policies, he succeeded in presenting the views of official Moscow with detachment, as he did in the "American threat" story and another in which he described Soviet interest in arms control (September 28, 1981). Daniloff also occasionally provided the sort of historical perspective on breaking news that is all too often absent from other reports from Moscow.

This was the sort of reporting that Daniloff's peers may have come to expect from him at his best. But most of his clips do not show him at his best. Although he has been praised for his wide circle of Soviet acquaintances, for example, those from a narrow stratum in Soviet society were overrepresented in his stories. On some occasions he was careful to describe this circle, as when he referred in a September 19, 1983, story to "a small group of well-educated Soviet citizens, primarily in large cities," who might be skeptical of government claims.

On other occasions, however, Daniloff managed to leave the impression that such people spoke for Soviet society as a whole, a comforting thought since most of them seemed to think about their country the way anti-Soviet westerners do. Reporting on a country whose memories of The Great Patriotic War are carefully nurtured and shaped by the state itself (a "national industry," Daniloff once called it), he even managed the near-impossible in a story on Gorbachev's first 100 days that appeared in the issue of June 24, 1985. "Some Soviets worry that Gorbachev is pushing himself forward too aggressively," he reported." "'It reminds me too much of Germany between World Wars I and II,' says one citizen. 'The tired Old Guard, like old President Hindenburg confronting Hitler, is about to yield to an ambitious young leader over whom they will have no control.'" Discovering a Russian who would liken Gorbachev to Hitler was an American fantasy come true.

Despite Daniloff's knowledge of the language, his sen-

sitivity to the culture, and apparent access to sources, his reporting from Moscow was at best indistinguishable from the rest of the Moscow pack's. Nineteen eighty-two was an instructive year in this respect. It saw Daniloff write a number of the required political stories. Mostly, however, his readers got, in order of appearance, the stories whose headlines follow. Daniloff, of course, did not write his own heads, but those affixed by the magazine's editors perfectly captured the spirit of his pieces: THE GRIM SIDE OF SOVIET MEDICINE; SQUEEZE ON CONSUMER GETS TIGHTER; FOR RUSSIAN WOMEN, WORST OF BOTH WORLDS; RELIGION'S FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL IN RUSSIA; STUNTED CROPS, STUNTED HOPES (our favorite); SOVIET'S PROBLEMS WITH TURNED OFF YOUTH.

This collection of story ideas reads like the table of contents of Hedrick Smith's 1976 book, *The Russians*, or like that of any number of similar works. Even the information cited for effect in such stories is similar. For example, on April 11, 1983, Daniloff reported from Yakutsk, Siberia ("frozen land of opportunity") that the eternally icy soil of the region was now supporting apartment buildings twelve and fourteen stories high. "If needed," says a provincial official, "we could build 20-story buildings." It's all right there on Smith's title page: "Siberia: High Rises on the Permafrost."

Such stories are not only Moscow-bureau boilerplate, they are pop psychology no matter what the byline. "The Communist elite—the New Class as it is called—takes care of its own," Daniloff wrote in one of several stories devoted to debunking the egalitarian pretensions of the USSR (April 9, 1984). "A major problem for any elite family is how to guarantee a lasting privileged lifestyle for their children." The answer the New Class has found? "The first step is to get the right education. . . . The second step is to get a good job. . . . A third step toward a lasting good life is a foreign assignment and/or national recognition."

The story, like most of Daniloff's in this vein, was in fact a moral tale. It questioned the claims and challenged the accomplishments of the Soviet system in order to demonstrate, most often indirectly, the superiority of the American one. To do so, however, it had to depend for its effect on the reader's suppression of his own knowledge about his own country. Daniloff's moral parables work by examining Soviet life through a microscope while keeping American life at telescopic range. For example, in a story on Soviet youth (November 15, 1982), a "high Communist official" is quoted as suggesting that they have problems that ours do not. The litany of problems, however, sounds remarkably familiar: youths are materialistic; rebellious; some wear long hair; others cannot pass the tests to join the army; ideology is out, pragmatism is in; juvenile crime is up. Sound like a country you know well? Not to Nick Daniloff.

When he was not writing about social issues and the everyday life of Soviet citizens, he did what Moscow bureaus are supposed to do and followed the breaking political stories in the capital. His political instincts were conventionally anti-Soviet. KGB troops are "steely-eyed" (June 16, 1986), the calculations of Soviet leaders are "hard-eyed" (February 24, 1986). For him, nothing in Soviet political life is what it seems: "This bland exterior masks a single-mindedness that easily rationalizes the use of force," he wrote of KGB chief Viktor Chebrikov (March 25, 1985). Gorbachev, in his turn, is said to have "signalled clearly that his surface appearance of moderation cloaks an iron-hard resolve in the Stalin tradition" (March 25, 1985).

Political judgments such as this fall into three groups: the bizarre, the conventional, and the confusing. Placing Gorbachev in the tradition of Stalin because of his "resolve" surely is an example of the bizarre. Daniloff also has told his readers over the years (1) that "some specialists" believe that Gorbachev, being a member of a generation less affected by World War II than his predecessors, might be more likely than they were to start a nuclear war (March 25, 1985); 2) that economic difficulties could cause the Soviet Union to "finish the 20th century even further behind its Western rivals than it was in 1917" (March 25, 1985); 3) that Soviet opposition to Euromissile deployments, its walkout from the Geneva talks, and its putative foot-dragging on conventional force reductions in Europe were all attributable to a "get-rid-of-Reagan drive" (May 21, 1984); 4) that,

OCCASIONAL PAPER

In the first of the Occasional Papers to be published by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, co-director Robert Karl Manoff examines the narrative conventions that shape national security news. He considers newspaper coverage of the Geneva summit, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's opposition to SALT II, Robert McFarlane's farewell address as national security adviser, and other events in the national security arena.

The paper, "Narrative Strategy and Nuclear News," examines different narrative forms ("the arms control story," "the espionage story," "the budget-struggle story") and compares different stories written about the same events. News stories exploit the privileged relationship they are assumed to share with reality, Manoff concludes. In fact, both news stories and those who read them take this relationship for granted. It is the tacit agreement of journalists and readers to regard the news as truth that makes reading the news *as news* possible at all.

"Narrative Strategy and Nuclear News" is 50 pages and is available from the Center at the address below for $7 prepaid. Center Members will receive this and other Occasional Papers as a benefit of membership. For membership information, please see the ad on the back page of this issue. Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, 1021 Main Building, New York University, New York, N.Y. 10003.

speaking of the KGB in one of the three pieces he did on the organization, "Virtually unknown outside the Soviet Union is the iron grip it holds on the Soviet People" (March 25, 1985). There is good reason why such reporting was to be found only in *U.S. News*.

Then there is the conventional reporting. These are the stories that everyone in Moscow was writing, including Daniloff, the ones he himself wrote several times, and ones his editors seemed to require. These were often based on Moscow-bureau boilerplate for the questions and answers expected of journalistic Sovietology. Just fill in the blanks:

> *The question:* "[W]hat are the long-term implications of _____'s changes? Do they mark the start of an overdue reform of the economic structure and a change in foreign policy? Some Western analysts are skeptical about how far _____ will or can go."
>
> *The answer:* "About his economic reform, one says: 'The betting is that the nation's natural inertia and reluctance to change eventually will stump _____ as it has his predecessors.'"

The correct answer: Yuri Andropov (February 28, 1983).

Confusing judgments there were aplenty. Take one example of his political writing, a seven-page analysis of the Gorbachev succession that ran in the issue of March 25, 1985. Attempting to take Gorbachev's measure using the will-he-or-won't-he-be-able-to yardstick of journalistic Sovietology, Daniloff had a difficult time of it, and so, therefore, did his readers:

> *Page 26:* "At home, too, chances of rapid or far-reaching changes seem slim."
>
> *Page 27:* "In short, say some experts here in the capital, Gorbachev's coming to power represents the best opportunity for the party to galvanize this faltering superpower since Stalin died in 1953."
>
> *Page 28:* "At best, the chances of startling breakthroughs are limited."

Overall, Daniloff's readers did not see the work of the man his colleagues so evidently respected. They benefited little from his acquaintance with a wide circle of Russian friends, his knowledge of the language, his affection for the culture. In fact, they got something like the kind of journalism Daniloff himself criticized in his reporting on the Soviet news media. Soviet journalists, he wrote (January 24, 1983), report life in the United States in order to "maintain national pride by demonstrating the superiority of socialism over 'corrupt' capitalism" and to "paint the grimmest picture possible of life in America." With roles reversed, so, too, did Daniloff.

That the Soviet polity is different goes without saying. But it is a polity. It has a political process, although we may not find it congenial. It has political institutions, although we may not find them credible. Daniloff never wrote about them, although he himself regretted that the Soviet press provided only "meager fare" to inform its readers about American politics. "It is on such meager fare that the average Soviet citizen depends for information on how the world's other superpower chooses its leaders," he wrote. Daniloff's readers would find that they were little better off.

TONY KAYE and ROBERT KARL MANOFF are, respectively, senior staff associate and co-director of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.

As Pruning Hooks Go to Prison, National Press Looks Other Way

by William A. Dorman

Ask a group of typical university students today who Andrei Sakharov is and chances are good most of them will at least have a vague idea. Ask the same students to identify, say, the Berrigan brothers, who between them have served some ten years in prison for acts of civil disobedience, and only one or two will raise their hands. When you try this exercise on the general public, the name Berrigan most likely will mean nothing at all. For it is an undeniable if regularly ignored fact of the Cold War that dissidents must do without press coverage as well as honor in their own countries. As a result, Soviet dissidents tend to be far better known to the American public than our own, while presumably the reverse is so in the USSR.

Such a double standard may pose no real contradiction to the Soviets, who believe the press ought to serve the state. But American journalists regularly and loudly take the moral high ground in discussing differences between the two systems, boasting that ideology has nothing to do with their news judgment. This claim seems questionable at best in light of the national news media's astonishingly dismal performance in covering the arrest, trial, and sentencing of a group of anti-nuclear weapons activists who call themselves the Silo Pruning Hooks, a name taken from the words of Isaiah in the Old Testament.

These protesters were the first civilians in peacetime U.S. history to be charged and convicted of sabotage. If for no other reason than American journalism's preoccupation with "firsts," the case met all of the usual requirements of a major news story. Yet for the national press corps, with the rare exception of columnist Mary McGrory, the entire affair—from arrest through the appeal process—was deemed worthy of nothing more than a paragraph or two in wire service roundups and no mention at all on the evening news. Few profiles in courage, no alarums, no nothing. Which perhaps is why McGrory originally learned of the story from *Soviet* officials while on a visit to Moscow and didn't write her column until April 1986, more than a year after members

of the group were sentenced to terms ranging from eight to eighteen years, the harshest sentences ever meted out to nuclear protesters.

A review of the case may be helpful for those who, understandably, missed the story when it first broke. On November 9, 1984, four nuclear protesters took a rented jackhammer and some other tools and broke into "N5," a Minuteman II missile site in Missouri. After cutting a padlock on a perimeter fence, the four entered the site and damaged three radar devices, some electrical cables, and chipped away at the concrete launch lid over the missile. The government later estimated the damage at $29,073.60. The group, which included two Catholic priests, brothers Carl and Paul Kabat, also hung signs with such messages as "Violence Ends Where Love Begins," and left a note explaining that their Christian faith required them to accept "personal responsibility for ending the cycle of violence that threatens us all." When military security personnel arrived to make the arrest, the group was sitting in a semicircle holding hands and singing.

Similar protests in the past have brought charges of trespassing and destruction of government property. But in this case, the government clearly wanted to send a message, and in an unprecedented move, the defendants were charged with "sabotage." Another protester came to be associated with the case when Martin Holladay, in a show of support for the Pruning Hooks, broke into a second Missouri missile site and caused $1,089.74 in estimated damage, mostly to electrical equipment. He spray-painted such messages as "Disarm or Dig Graves." He also was charged with and convicted of sabotage. At Holladay's sentencing, a U.S. district court judge lectured him on his "arrogance" for setting himself up as "judge and jury" above elected representatives and government specialists on matters far beyond his comprehension.

Later in July, the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals, in a 2-1 decision, affirmed the convictions and sentences of four of the Pruning Hooks: Carl Kabat, 52, eighteen years in prison plus five years probation; Paul Kabat, 54, ten years plus four years probation; Lawrence Cloud-Morgan, 42, eight years and three years probation; and Holladay, 31, eight years in prison and five years probation. Helen Woodson, who is in her forties, chose not to appeal, and instead left her sentence of eighteen years to the "conscience" of the trial judge, who later reduced it to twelve years, with an additional five years probation.

The possibility that these sentences were absurdly and cruelly out of line with the nature of the protesters' crime was raised by Judge Myron Bright, the lone dissenting 8th Circuit judge. In his dissent, Judge Bright noted that the defendants did not injure anyone nor did they have the capability to seriously damage the missile site. According to Judge Bright, "The sentences are akin to penalties often imposed on violent criminals, such as robbers and rapists, or on those guilty of crimes considered heinous, such as drug dealers."

In making his argument, Judge Bright cited sentencing statistics in similar cases during the four years before the Pruning Hooks case. Sixty-six defendants were convicted for willful destruction of government property, of whom 61 percent received probation; 26 percent received imprisonment with an average sentence of thirty-six months and 14 percent received a split sentence of six months in prison or less, together with probation for the balance of the sentence.

Most important, Judge Bright raised compelling questions about the charge of sabotage. Given the impregnability of the missile sites, he argued that the defendants could not reasonably have had the intent of injuring the national defense of the United States, intent which must be proved in a sabotage charge. "I do not believe that case law or common sense justifies the majority's [his colleagues on the 8th Circuit panel] overexpansive reading [of the sabotage statute]," he wrote.

As Judge Bright pointed out, the missiles were fully operational both before and after the action of the Pruning Hooks: "The intent to disarm the missiles and thereby interfere with the national defense did not lie within the capabilities of the [Pruning Hooks] and they knew this. The most that they could do, and all they intended to do, was to commit a *symbolic* act against these weapons of destruction [my emphasis]."

To bolster his argument, Judge Bright quoted the testimony of a weapons analyst who described the Minuteman II system as one consisting of missiles, each of which carries a 1.2-megaton warhead, buried eighty feet underground in concrete-and-steel silos. Each missile is protected by a concrete lid that weighs more than 100 tons and is many feet thick. The silos are designed to survive a nuclear hit within one-quarter mile away, and the silos are built to withstand two thousand pounds-per-square-inch of overpressure, or 400 to 500 times the amount of force required to blow a house off its foundation.

Given these protective measures, Judge Bright found it impossible to imagine how the original group of four, using a jackhammer for less than thirty minutes, and Holladay, who chipped away at the silo lid for about fifteen minutes with a three-pound hammer and a star

drill, might seriously threaten or damage the launch capabilities of the missiles.

Whether one agrees with Judge Bright's reasoning or not, clearly the case of the Pruning Hooks involved the possibility that the government was far more concerned about political acts than with damage to national security. And a press that prides itself on being opposed to abuses of state power might reasonably be expected to treat the case as a major story. Certainly, had Soviet justice worked in similar fashion, the story would not have been buried deeper than the Minuteman missiles.

How then did the national press cover the affair? A check of all major media indexes for the period up until the appeal, including the National Newspaper Index, showed exactly three entries, one of which was the McGrory column. *The New York Times* gave the conviction of the original group four paragraphs in its "Around the Nation" summary. According to the *Times* index, nothing appeared about the original arrest or the trial. A second five-paragraph wire service short on the conviction was buried on page eighteen of the February 25, 1985, issue of the *Times*. In nearly the same period, the *Times* index shows that some fifty stories about Sakharov were published.

For roughly the same two-year period of the Pruning Hooks case, the National Newspaper Index contains twelve columns of entries under the heading of Dissidents in the Soviet Union. Similarly, there were fourteen columns of entries for Sakharov, about whom an HBO movie was aired in 1984. (The Berrigans, by the way, had a total of three *entries*, not columns.) Interestingly enough, the NNI does not even have a heading for "Dissidents—United States." The only feature on aspects of the case in a major daily appeared August 5 in the "Style" section of *The Washington Post*. The largely sympathetic profile of Martin Holladay, headlined CONSCIENCE AND THE CRIMINAL, was written by *Post* reporter Lloyd Grove, a classmate of Holladay's while the two were at Yale University.

The Kansas City trial did receive extensive local coverage. According to John Douner, who covers the federal courts for *The Kansas City Times*, "the trial was big news every day." Curiously, given the record, Douner said the case got "lots of national publicity, probably more than it deserved." He dismissed the importance of the case, arguing that it involved merely some protesters who were using the federal court as a platform for their particular political beliefs. How did the Kansas City media play the sabotage issue? "I don't even remember that we did," Douner said.

Other than McGrory, the only column about the Pruning Hooks that I could find was written by Peter Schrag, author and editorial page editor of *The Sacramento Bee*. Schrag was outraged by the sentences and wrote a stinging attack on the appellate court's decision not to overturn them. In Schrag's view, "It's only unfortunate that there aren't more judges on the 8th Circuit like Myron Bright." According to Schrag, he found out about the case only after a friend sent him a copy of the 8th Circuit's decision.

American editors accord Soviet dissidents like Andrei Sakharov the status of a running story. The best American dissidents can hope for is topical status. They have to do something, like get arrested, before they are deemed newsworthy, and even then the attention is seldom substantial or sustained. They rarely are the subject even of feature stories, despite their "human interest angles." Holladay, for example, is the son of a woman who also has spent time in prison for civil disobedience, and Woodson is the mother of eleven children.

One reporter suggested to me that the national press failed to cover the case simply because it unfolded in Missouri, far from the madding media crowd. He maintained that the story slipped through the cracks for nearly two years primarily because of laziness and inattention, not ideological bias. Such an argument seems patently absurd and self-serving. Kansas City is no more out of the way than Gorky.

WILLIAM A. DORMAN teaches journalism at California State University in Sacramento and is the co-author of The U.S. Press and Iran: Foreign Policy and the Journalism of Deference.

'Obsessive Obliviousness'

An op-ed page article in *The Los Angeles Times* on October 10 and a lead editorial in the October 13 issue of *The New Yorker* proved eloquent exceptions to the rule that American dissidents receive scant coverage in the mainstream press. Both pieces were written by Lawrence Wechsler and decried how little attention was being paid to four veterans fasting on the Capitol steps.

Last July 27, Charlie Liteky renounced the Medal of Honor he won in Vietnam to protest U.S. involvement in Nicaragua. On September 1, he and another Vietnam veteran, George Mizo, began a "fast for life" to further protest Congress' funding of the contras. On September 15, they were joined by S. Brian Wilson, who also served in Vietnam, and Duncan Murphy, who drove an ambulance during World War II.

As the four men grew weaker toward the middle of October, they began attracting slightly more concern in the news columns. But, with the exception of National Public Radio, they remained a marginal story, leading Wechsler to observe in the *Times*:

"One frequently repeated truism about Gandhian nonviolence is that it can only work if the surrounding society evinces a minimal level of public conscience (as the British did) that might be pricked by the nonviolent spectacle. Public conscience is to a certain degree shaped by, but also reflected in, the concerns of the public media. . . . [W]hat does our current persistent, almost obsessive obliviousness to the drama of these four fasting veterans say about the state of public conscience in America today?"

—*R.P.*

'No Quick Fix': An Annotated Editorial

On September 25, The New York Times *ran a lead editorial headlined: THE ARMS RACE HAS NO QUICK FIX. This certainly is true, as events in Iceland in mid-October so painfully made clear. But neither does the arms race benefit from obfuscatory opinion in the nation's leading newspaper. We reprint the* Times *editorial below with annotations by Kosta Tsipis, a member of the advisory board of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media and director of the Program in Science and Technology for International Security at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.*

Congress threatens to impose on the White House the constraint Mikhail Gorbachev has long sought—a moratorium on testing nuclear weapons. Its motives are wholly different but the result would be the same: a severe weakening of the President's bargaining power and of national security.

What Mr. Gorbachev seeks in a test ban is a halt in the modernization of American strategic weapons, and a free ride to hamstringing the President's "Star Wars" missile defense. Nuclear tests are necessary for development of the nuclear-pumped X-ray laser, one of Star Wars' most promising components.

Even those who consider countrywide missile defense unworkable should not want to undercut the President's bargaining position in the now-promising Soviet negotiations. A test ban would also freeze the quality of America's strategic deterrent and thus award the Kremlin its two mostly ardently [sic] sought objectives for nothing in return.

How could Congress even contemplate such willful self-damage? The House, in all good will, seeks simply to end the arms race by freezing innovation in nuclear weaponry. It has voted for a one-year moratorium on nuclear tests of more than one kiloton. Les Aspin, the

It is not clear at all that further modernization of strategic weapons is necessary or even desirable. The Soviets are not going to be deterred more by knowing that their cities will be incinerated by "modern" nuclear explosives rather than by the 10,000 intercontinental warheads we now possess. Neither is crisis stability—the most desirable trait of any nuclear arsenal—being enhanced by modernizing (i.e., making more accurate) the delivery systems for these warheads. The whole arms control effort aims at reaching a stable configuration of nuclear arsenals that precludes strategic instability and minimizes crisis instability.

The X-ray laser is not a "promising" weapon, not only because its intensity cannot even vaguely approach what would be necessary for it to function as a weapon against ballistic missiles, or even satellites, but mainly because it has been conclusively shown that it cannot work against fast-boost missiles which finish the powered portion of their trajectories while still in the atmosphere, since X-rays cannot penetrate the air. Effective countermeasures against it already have been developed for many years now to protect our reentry vehicles from X-ray bursts of the old ABM weapons. Finally, an X-ray laser is a nuclear explosive and thus to attack 1,500 Soviet missiles would require at least an equal number of nuclear detonations in outer space. The electromagnetic effects of even one such detonation could paralyze the command, control, communications and sensor facilities of space-based defenses.

The quality of the strategic deterrent depends on the survivability of nuclear missile-carrying submarines, of ICBMs and their command and control facilities, of the ability of bombers and cruise missiles to penetrate Soviet air defenses, but does not depend at all on the modernization or testing of the nuclear explosives these systems carry. After development, the reliability of warheads never is checked by underground tests because to do so would require an astronomical number of tests. The reliability of warheads is assured by procedures which do *not* involve the detonation of these warheads.

embattled chairman of the Armed Services Committee, is under strenuous pressure from liberal colleagues to make this position prevail in conference with the Senate.

But those who twist Mr. Aspin's arm are demanding two contradictory things. Many also support the single-warhead Midgetman missile—a less tempting, far costlier target—as an alternative to the vulnerable 10-warhead MX. How could Midgetman be made reliable if there's a test ban? As its sponsors well know, a one-year moratorium is likely to become a permanent injunction. That would also prevent reliability testing of the D5 warhead for the accurate Trident II missile and disrupt programs to protect command and control facilities from the effects of nuclear weapons.

Midgetman's design is not final but even if it uses the Mark 21 warhead approved for the MX, that must be adapted to withstand the stress of housing the missile in mobile trucks instead of silos. Failure to test the new design, or any other new weapon, would be pure folly.

That points to a deeper flaw in the House's vision: the simplistic belief that the arms race is driven only by technology and can be halted by stifling innovation. The arms race is driven primarily by mistrust, and not all changes in nuclear weaponry are bad. Warhead size reduction, stable basing and improved security contribute greatly to a safer world.

For too long, the Administration opposed a test ban on the ground that it could not be verified. Just because that argument was a smokescreen does not mean there are no valid reasons to test. A quota on tests, which some propose in place of a ban, has the logic of neither position. Further limits on testing are highly desirable, but only after the arms race itself has been constrained. Until then, Congress had better not throw away the key to the technology that assures America's nuclear shield and provides our greatest leverage in negotiating genuine controls.

The reliability of the Midgetman can and will be determined by test flights of the missile and *not* by detonating its warhead. This statement is either a manifestation of the writer's ignorance or a deliberate effort to confuse the reliability of warheads with reliability of the carrier missile.

It is not at all obvious that the MX is vulnerable. Studies have shown that under the most optimal assumptions a surprise Soviet attack will destroy 40 to 70 percent of ICBMs in their silos, leaving many thousands of warheads available for retaliation.

Again, D5 warhead's reliability is not assured by underground tests. We do *not* check for reliability after the warhead has been developed by testing it explosively.

Protection of C^3 facilities cannot be tested by underground explosions because they do not generate the effect (the EMP) which could disrupt them. Large systems are tested for resistance to EMP in special non-nuclear facilities. Small components can be, and have been, tested for resistance to "system-generated EMP" and radiation damage with special intense X-ray, gamma-ray, neutron and other elementary particle sources.

The Mark 21 warhead can be tested for reliability under the stressful conditions of a mobile missile by subjecting it to mechanical stresses in the laboratory and then determining whether it would work through the same methods used for *all* other warheads after their development.

In the past, underground testing has been used to *increase* the yield of warheads: from 170 kt to 330 kt for MM3, from 50 kt to 100 kt for the Poseidon C4 missiles. Yields decreased when we, and in their turn the Russians, adopted multiple, independently targeted warheads for our missiles. Since then, underground testing has been used to improve the yield-to-weight ratio (i.e., to increase the yield and decrease the size of the warheads).

If verification was a smokescreen and the reasons advanced here are valid, why didn't the administration use them?

The arms race cannot be constrained if the nuclear weapons laboratories are allowed testing because they will promote the notion of "third-generation" nuclear explosives. These are not more usable or useful than the present "second-generation" variety, but given the evident ignorance about these matters even among the sophisticated press, they will be welcomed and invoked as reasons to continue development and testing of nuclear devices and thereby further animate the arms race.

Media Fallout

On page one of *The New York Times* on September 23, a headline read: REACTOR FALLOUT SAID TO MATCH PAST WORLD TOTAL/LONG-TERM EFFECT CITED/EMISSIONS FROM CHERNOBYL FOUND TO EQUAL THOSE OF ALL BOMBS AND TESTS.

Dr. Lynn R. Anspaugh, a scientist at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California, called the third segment of the headline an "outrageous distortion" of the story that followed, because it implied that both short- and long-term radiation released at Chernobyl on April 26 was equal to that of all worldwide nuclear weapons testing to date.

Stuart Diamond, who wrote the story, had referred to a study presented by Anspaugh in mid-September at a meeting of the American Nuclear Society in Saratoga Springs, New York. To make a rough comparison between the radioactive fallout from Chernobyl and that from all above-ground bomb tests to date, Anspaugh offered a formula to calculate the magnitude of several radioactive isotopes released during atomic fission. He compared the longer-term radioactive isotope, cesium-137, with the shorter-lived isotopes iodine-131 and strontium-90. Cesium-137, he explained, was released from Chernobyl in "roughly the same order of magnitude" as it would be in a 200-megaton blast—the United Nations' estimate of the total fallout from above-ground weapons testing to date. But Anspaugh made an error in calculation and Diamond came away from the presentation with an estimate for Chernobyl's cesium release that matched and possibly exceeded by 50 percent the total cesium released from all above-ground nuclear bomb tests to date.

Both Diamond and Anspaugh agree that Diamond quoted the scientist correctly. And they agree that the headline writer at the *Times* made a mistake using the blanket term "emissions" when Diamond's story was concerned with cesium levels only. "I never denied what Diamond wrote . . . I wouldn't have worded it that way [that the cesium levels exceeded worldwide totals by 50 percent], but he was within the spirit of what I said. . . . I have to take the rap for misleading him with my remarks," Anspaugh said.

Following publication of the *Times* story, and a similar one in the late edition of the September 23 *Washington Post*, Anspaugh was deluged with calls from reporters asking about the radiation releases. He held a press briefing on September 24, telling wire service reporters that the inferences in the *Times*' headlines were incorrect, but, thinking the terms "headline" and "lead" the same, used the words interchangeably, which may have confused reporters.

Anspaugh said a UPI reporter did not quote him accurately and that he told the reporter he had not seen the *Post* story and therefore could not comment on it. He also said he later got an angry phone call from R. Jeffrey Smith, the *Post* reporter, who had seen the UPI account claiming that both the *Times* and the *Post* stories were inaccurate. Anspaugh said several reporters he spoke to told him they were eager to catch the *Times* in a mistake.

After speaking to Diamond and Smith, Anspaugh looked again at his calculations and discovered the mathematical error he had made at Saratoga. He said that while the numbers are "fuzzy," his best estimate now is that Chernobyl released between 1 and 8 megacuries of cesium-137. That's roughly the same "order of magnitude" as a 5 to 80-megaton blast—considerably less than the estimated worldwide total of 200 megatons.

It's important to remember, Anspaugh said, that not all of the radiation from Chernobyl has been released yet. "There's still time to plow [the contaminated topsoil] under 6 feet with clay material or high-potassium fertilizer," he said, which would reduce our exposure to the elements as they continue to decay and emit radiation.

Anspaugh has written to the editor of the *Times* explaining the misunderstanding. He seems taken aback by the attention to his remarks, and observed that if the media are so alarmed about the danger of emissions from Chernobyl they ought to publicize the fact that there still is time to minimize the impact of the radiation that is yet to come.

—Ellen McGrath

LETTERS

Chernobyl And U.S.

To The Editor:
[In Tom Gervasi's article on the media's coverage of U.S. nuclear accidents, *Deadline*—July/August 1986] a paragraph . . . devoted to the Kiwi Transient Nuclear Test [in 1965] . . . concludes with: "All written reports on these tests remain classified." I did some checking and determined that Kiwi-TNT test information is freely available. I have obtained a 141-page report, LA-3350, entitled, "Description of the Kiwi-TNT Excursion and related Experiments. . . ."

Robert Erck
Lombard, Illinois

Tom Gervasi replies: Mr. Erck has has found some valuable information. None of it was available to me when I wrote my article. The Department of Energy told me that all written reports on the Kiwi test were classified. This is apparently not so. Mr. Erck has found several reports which were not classified and has forwarded one of them. These reports all are in the professional literature. Nuclear engineers have seen this material, but the general public has not—primarily because the press has made no effort to dig it out.

To The Editor:

I was in the Soviet Union for three weeks following the Chernobyl accident and followed Soviet coverage closely. You probably were right to point up hypocrisy on the part of the U.S. media, not to mention downright irresponsibility among some, and you provide edifying cases of U.S. government secrecy. Still and all, you let the Soviets off too easily.

At a certain point, Soviet media managers officially decided Chernobyl was a "big story" with educational value that needed to be handled properly. So, treatment was extensive but very selective. For days, there was no acknowledgement that other regions of the country or other countries had been affected, let alone how much. There was the counter-attack: the sensationalism of Western press coverage of the event was greatly exaggerated (that there was some sober and sympathetic coverage in the responsible press was not acknowledged) and was ascribed to malicious propaganda campaigns. As usual, there was no recognition that Soviet behavior had anything to do with a situation in which the Soviet Union was maligned or victimized. The international news section of *Pravda* was filled with various mishaps on U.S. nuclear submarines, leaks of

radiation from our Nevada test sites, Three Mile Island and the like.

There was no sense of proportion to suggest the blast from Chernobyl might be of such a scale to justify worry among foreign publics. There was no coverage of what had caused the accident, or even in any detail what was happening at the site. Finally, the authorities buttressed the credibility of official reports by airing press conferences by Hans Blix, of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and Robert Gale, the American doctor who aided Chernobyl victims. Moreover, a German paper reported that the Soviets exacted a promise from the International Atomic Energy Agency: in return for providing monitoring data, the IAEA agreed not to allow member governments to divulge the information to Western publics.

So, both the charges of excessive secrecy and of using the coverage of the event for propaganda purposes are borne out. You have a legitimate point when you say that our government has also been guilty of both. But there is a significant difference in the opportunity the press has here to assume an adversarial posture vis-a-vis the government, which has enabled us—albeit often belatedly—to learn shocking things about current and past events.

Thomas F. Remington
Associate Professor
Department of Political Science
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Goodwill Games

To The Editor:

As a long-time news reporter, who has met or covered several of your board members and others active in the field, I have great respect for your organization and what it does. I think it is important for the most knowledgeable and talented persons in the movement to keep guard against trivialization of international affairs.

However, I do not think the coverage of the Goodwill Games was totally trivial, if I can judge by what I saw my colleagues doing and saying while in Moscow. Jay Rosen has written, "It was no accident that almost all the articles on the games were bylined by sports reporters" (*Deadline*, September/October 1986). Most of those covering the games happened to be assigned to a sports department at the time, but most of them were chosen because they could and would see the broader issues. Some of us had been studying for a year or more to prepare for our few weeks in the Soviet Union. Some of us were taking extreme guidance from our bureaus in Moscow. Some of us constantly put the Goodwill Games and Ted Turner in a framework of Flight 007, Chernobyl, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and the arms race.

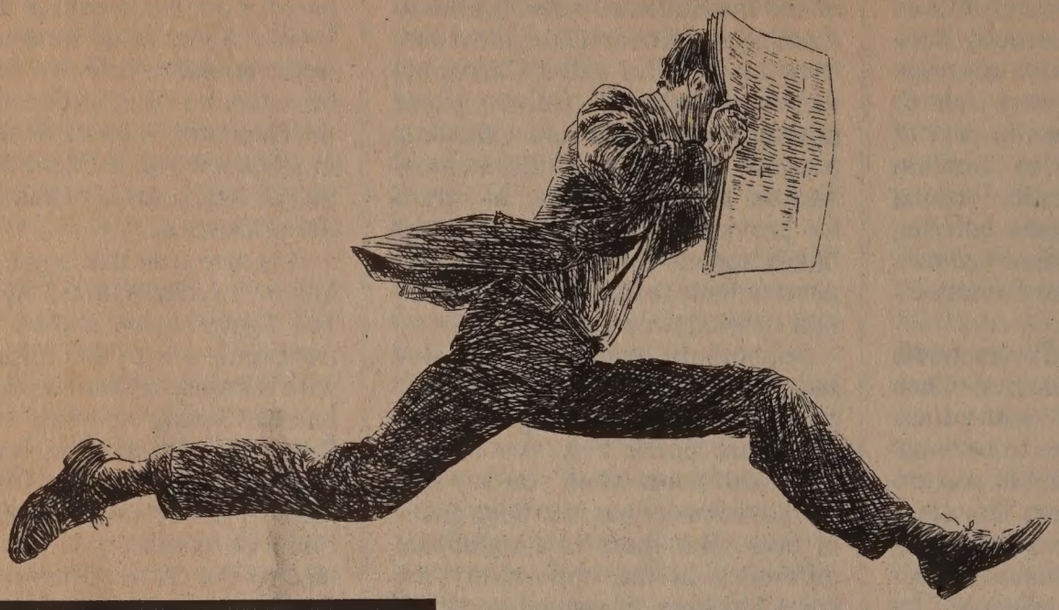
It is also true that some of us, in our own complexities, did not find Ted Turner to be a total fool. We tried to deal with this bizarre event with subtlety as well as a sense of humor. Seeing snippets of quotes from some of us who were there mingled with snippets from those who were not there is misleading. Some of us did try to paint a montage of the Soviet Union from our brief perspective, as journalists—not sports reporters. I understand what arms-control experts and activists are doing; is it possible to also understand what we were doing?

George Vecsey
The New York Times
New York, N.Y.

Jay Rosen replies: In pointing out that most articles on the Goodwill Games were written by sportswriters I only meant to show that journalists covering the arms control beat did not take the event very seriously. There was some serious writing about this admittedly bizarre event, George Vecsey's columns included.

Corrections

In Pamela Abrams' article on press coverage of the peace movement (*Deadline*, September/October 1986), Terry FitzPatrick's name was misspelled and the call letters of the Amarillo, Texas, television station for which he reports, KFDA-TV, were incorrectly given. The article also mistakenly reported that the Agape Network protesters FitzPatrick covered had turned back the weapons train at the Pantex Plant in Amarillo. In fact, they stood beside the tracks and watched it pass. It was also not the group's first trackside vigil, as the article claimed.



The Ultimate Deadline Is Upon Us . . .

No subject covered by the press is more urgent than the arms race. But the public's confusion suggests that the coverage is not good enough. What can be done to make it better? What stories does the press get wrong, or miss entirely? What can be done to improve the coverage of arms control and the peace movement? Of the next summit? Of "Star Wars"?

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY'S
CENTER FOR WAR, PEACE, AND THE NEWS MEDIA

tries to answer these and many other questions by evaluating the reporting and suggesting ways to improve it. We hope to help the press do a better job by holding it up to scrutiny in *Deadline*, a new bi-monthly newsletter of research, analysis and opinion. We hope you will become a Center Member at an annual cost of only $25 for individuals and $50 for institutions. In addition to *Deadline*, members receive invitations to Center symposia and conferences as well as reduced prices on the Center's scholarly papers and books. Members may also make use of the Center's library of arms race press coverage.

SO JOIN US TODAY

To become a Center Member, please send your name, address and zip code, along with a check for $25 (individual) or $50 (institution). payable to New York University. Mail to:

CENTER
1021 Main Building,
New York University
New York, N.Y. 10003

Membership may be tax-deductible for professional purposes.

Calendar

Significant antinuclear events and projects.
Tell us about January and February events by December 1.

NATIONWIDE TEACH-IN

The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) is calling on local community groups and congregations to observe a week-long teach-in from **Nov 6-12**. **"Windows on the USSR"** is designed to help create a greater understanding of the Soviet culture, history and society. Some suggestions for the event include showing a Soviet film at your local peace center; initiating a Soviet film festival at a local theater; encouraging libraries and schools to display Soviet crafts, books and posters; having speakers discuss American and Soviet policies; and forming Soviet study groups. For a list of appropriate resources and more suggestions, *contact*: US-USSR Reconciliation Program, FOR, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

PEACE STUDIES

On **Nov 14-15** at **Amherst College**, the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies (PAWSS) will host "Star Wars," a conference on the implications of SDI, with John Kenneth Galbraith, Rosy Nimroody of the Council on Economic Priorities, and many others. Other PAWSS activities will include showings of the films "On the Beach" **(Nov 17-18)** and "Dr. Strangelove," **(Dec 4)** as well as lectures by Sir Wallace Rowling, the ambassador of New Zealand to the United States, on **Nov 19**. For more information, *contact*: Michael Klare, PAWSS, c/o Hampshire College, Amherst, MA 01002 (413) 549-4600.

MARCHING THE LAST MILE

The Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament will arrive in **Washington, D.C.** on Saturday, **Nov 15**. The public is invited to activities which will begin at 9:00 AM at Malcolm X Park, and will include a march through the Capital city, entertainment, a candlelight ceremony, and much more. On Monday, **Nov 17**, civil disobedience will occur at the Department of Energy. The rest of the week's agenda will feature embassy visits and congressional lobbying. If no progress is made towards a test ban, there is the possibility of a large-scale fast. For more details, *contact*: The Washington office of The Great Peace March, 733 15 St NW, Ste 527, Washington, DC 20005 (202) 347-0790.

NONVIOLENCE CONFERENCE

The 1986 Mid-Atlantic Nonviolence Conference is being held at the National 4-H Center in **Chevy Chase, MD** from **Nov 14-16**. It will allow participants to share experiences and knowledge on the use of nonviolence to bring about political and social change. For more information, *contact*: Pat Tatum, Mid-Atlantic Nonviolence Conference, 4715 Rittenhouse St, Riverdale, MD 20737 (301) 277-2242.

SATELLITE SUMMIT

The Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) is inviting the public to eavesdrop on its trans-Atlantic dialogue on nuclear arms control. This "Satellite Summit" is being offered **nationwide** to PBS and cable television stations free of charge on **Nov 15** from 2-4 PM EST. The dialogue will feature a panel of scientists in Washington, DC and attendees of the International Scientists' Peace Congress in Hamburg, Germany. National security, arms control, and Star Wars are on the agenda. The second segment of the show will present an informal dialogue between European and American scientists on the role of the scientist in arms control. For channel information in your area, dial 1-800-CALL-800. For general information, *contact*: UCS, 26 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02238 (617) 547-5552.

NUMBER NINE

The *USS Tennessee*, the ninth Trident submarine and the first capable of launching a D-5 missile, will be christened on **Nov 15** in **Groton, CT**. A public rally in front of the General Dynamics complex will be followed by a protest at the site of an official reception for military brass, congress members, and other policymakers. For more information, *contact*: The Coalition to Stop Trident, PO Box 1093, Norwich, CT 06360 (203) 889-5337.

CHILDREN OF WAR TOUR

The Religious Task Force of the Mobilization for Survival is turning the glossy/commercial Benneton clothing campaign (colorfully costumed children of different nations arm-in-arm) into a sobering reality by sponsoring its second Children of War Tour with 60 teenagers from Belfast, Beirut, El Salvador, South Africa and other countries where children are victimized by the effects of war. Eighteen U.S. students will be touring with the group. Stops are mapped out for 27 cities from **Nov 16 to 27**. For detailed itinerary and more information, *contact*: Children of War/Religious Task Force, 85 S Oxford St, Brooklyn, NY 11227 (718) 858-6882.

TEST BAN ACTIONS

As part of its ongoing campaign for a Comprehensive Test Ban, the American Peace Test (APT), in conjunction with the Great Peace March, will mobilize large-scale actions, including civil disobedience, in **Washington, DC** on **Nov 17** and a simultaneous blockade at the **Nevada Test Site** (NTS). Another action is slated for **Jan 27** to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the first test at the NTS. For more information, *contact*: Jessie Cocks, APT, PO Box 26726, Las Vegas, NV 89126 (702) 363-7780.

VIOLENCE AND CHILDREN'S TOYS

Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) invites its members, teachers, psychologists, journalists, parents and other laymen to attend a conference entitled, "Toys & Us: Examining the Controversy over War Toys," on **Dec 5 and 6** at Hunter College in **New York City**. Through panel discussions and workshops, the forum will try to answer why the sale of war toys has risen 600 percent since 1982, and what effect this may have on children. Speakers will include Doug Thompson, president of the Toy Manufacturers of America; psychiatrist Robert Gould, New York chair of the National Coalition on Television Violence; and Elizabeth Crow, editor of *Parents* magazine. For more information, *contact*: Jinnie Spiegler, ESR Metro, 490 Riverside Dr, Rm 27, New York, NY 10027 (212) 666-0056.

In a related effort, the National Coalition on Television Violence (NCTV) is organizing an international protest, slated for **Nov 28-29**, of the sale of war toys. For more information, *contact*: NCTV, c/o PO Box 2157, Champaign, IL 61820 (217) 384-1920.

DARK CIRCLE ON TV

Dark Circle, the antinuclear documentary that PBS refused to screen last year, has finally made it to prime time. The multi-award-winning film will be shown twice on national cable station TBS: **Dec 8** at 10 PM EST and **Dec 21** at 5 PM EST. The film, which portrays the devastation of the lives of ordinary individuals by nuclear power or weapons, will be followed by the announcement of a toll-free number viewers can call to obtain more information on nuclear issues and antinuclear activism. *Contact*: Steve Coleman, The Better World Society, 1140 Connecticut Av NW, Ste 1006, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 331-3770.

CHRISTMAS WITNESS

On **Dec 13**, you are invited to join the 27th annual peace witness **from Nazareth to Bethlehem, PA**. The 10-mile walk, begun in response to the Vietnam war, is the oldest peace witness in the country. This year it has been proclaimed an official event by the mayors of Nazareth and Bethlehem. Activities will include a candlelight procession and a convocation at the walk's completion. Elizabeth Dickinson, a United Church of Christ "Peace Partner," will speak on "Breaking Down Barriers: East/West, North/South." For more information, *contact*: Emily Will, U.S. Peace Section, Mennonite Central Committee, 21 S 12 St, PO Box M, Akron, PA 17501 (717) 859-1151.

TRIDENT PROTESTS

The Pentagon has chosen **Cape Canaveral, FL,** as the scene for the first launching of the Trident 2 (D-5) missile. On **Jan 17**, the date of the test, the Cape will also be the scene of nonviolent acts of civil disobedience now being planned by the Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice and the Mobilization for Survival. A legal demonstration will accompany the nonviolent occupation of the test site in an attempt to delay and obstruct the Trident test. For more information, *contact*: Bruce Gagnon, Coordinator, Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice, PO Box 2486, Orlando, FL 32802 (305) 422-3479.

NATIONAL SECURITY CONFERENCE

The Institute for Peace and International Security will hold a conference, "The New Security: Debate, Challenges, and Strategies for the Peace Movement," to give peace activists and arms control and academic leaders a chance to explore national security issues together. The conference, to be held in **January**, will feature small group workshops. Scholarships are available. For more information, *contact*: Matthew Goodman, PO Box 2651, Cambridge, MA 02238 (617) 497-6360.

IDEALS ON WHEELS

A trio of Williams College alumni are traveling by bicycle to campuses around the country giving workshops on student-initiated courses, peace studies, and non-violence. **The Gaudino Project for Student Initiatives and Nonviolent Action** is an offshoot of classes developed and/or taught by the alumni, who will go more or less when and wherever invited, and will design a program to suit your group or school's interests. (A flexible $100 stipend is requested.) *Contact*: Nancy Kulik, Gaudino Project for Student Initiatives and Nonviolent Alternatives, c/o 46 Victory Court, Old Bridge, NJ 08857 (201) 947-0740.

SEND YOUR REP TO JAPAN

Organizers of the Hiroshima Project want to send all 535 members of Congress to Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Park, where they (and one family member) can sweep their minds of political debris and stock up on thoughts related to the prevention of nuclear war. Want your representative to go? *Contact*: the Hiroshima Project, P0 Box 2108, Carmel Valley, CA 93920 (408) 659-2608 to make contributions or for more information.

WEST MEETS EAST

The Trust Group Center Abroad has regular meetings and engages in ongoing activities to link Western peace activists with independent Eastern bloc activists. For more information, *contact*: Bob McGlynn, 528 5th St, Brooklyn, NY 11215 (718) 499-7720.

CD AT GROUND ZERO

The Rocky Mountain Peace Center (RMPC) in Boulder, CO, has joined forces with the American Peace Test and the Nevada Test Site Guide Service to try and stop or delay nuclear tests by civil disobedience at ground zero. On six occasions groups of anywhere from three to five people have hiked onto the test site for periods of 24 to 48 hours in attempts to reach ground zero and halt tests. Protesters have been arrested each time, jailed, and fined. The RMPC is looking for volunteers from around the country to join these "back country" actions. Anyone who wants to help but cannot go to Nevada can send money to support the campaign. For more information, *contact*: RMPC, PO Box 1156, Boulder, CO 80302 (303) 443-3680.

PEACE FELLOWSHIPS

Herbert Scoville Peace Fellowships are now available to college graduates interested in arms control. Recipients will spend 3-4 months working full-time for disarmament, nuclear arms control and peace organizations in Washington, DC. Deadline for applying for fall 1987 fellowships is **March 1**. For more information, *contact*: Scoville Peace Fellowships Program, 110 Maryland Av NE, Washington, DC 20002.

—Compiled by Kathy McNulty, Miranda Spencer and Kimberly Thompson.

Non-Profit Organizaton
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
Mechanicsburg, PA
Permit No. 87

Ten Reasons Not to Use PeaceNet

1. I don't like working with others

PeaceNet is a computer network and communication system for people who believe that global planning and cooperation are necessary to reverse a trillion-dollar-per-year arms race; it is linking users throughout the United States and in over 70 other countries.

2. I've got all the information I'll ever need

PeaceNet is for those who appreciate that information is always growing and changing; its bulletin boards, conferences, and databases provide information about everything from Central America to Star Wars.

3. I love playing phone tag

PeaceNet's electronic mail system renders those endless conversations with secretaries and answering machines obsolete.

4. I don't know how to use my computer

PeaceNet helps novices with simple, entertaining manuals and round-the-clock staff for answering their questions.

5. I enjoy copying, labeling, and stamping letters

PeaceNet enables you to send messages to hundreds of other users with one simple command.

6. I've got plenty of money to waste on postage and phone bills

PeaceNet is for people who want to save money; it lets you send documents across the world faster than Federal Express™ for pennies per page.

7. I don't mind getting action alerts a week late

PeaceNet does mind and can help your organization send out time-urgent alerts instantly.

8. I don't have the right kind of computer equipment

PeaceNet is available to anyone with a computer terminal and a modem.

9. An effective peace movement isn't worth 50 cents a day

PeaceNet users disagree.

10. It's all hopeless, anyway

Then why read this magazine when Modern Wrestling would suffice?

Nearly a thousand people and fifty groups are already using PeaceNet, including Beyond War, the National Freeze Campaign, and Nuclear Times. If you want to join them in an unprecedented international dialogue for peace, write or call us today for details.

PeaceNet: The First Global Computer Network for Peace
1918 Bonita, Berkeley, CA 94704 (415) 486-0264